

# IN THESE TIMES

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Couldn't Die, Page 21.



VOL. 3, NO. 45

OCTOBER 10-16, 1979

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## ENERGY

A SPECIAL REPORT

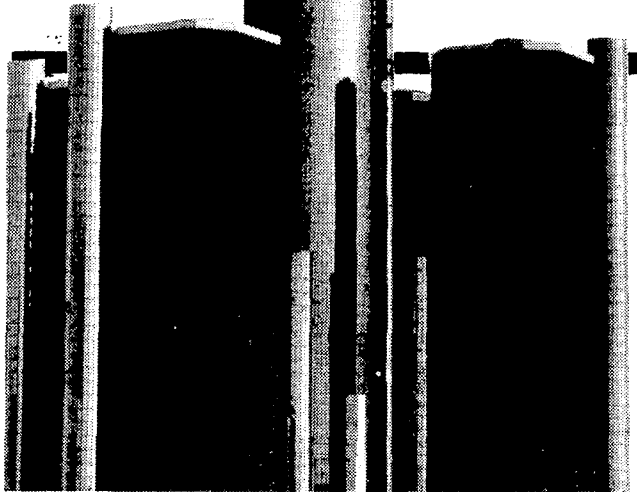


*David Moberg looks at the energy mess in Congress, (page 6), and explores proposals for solving the shortages, (pages 12-13).*

*Greg Moyer finds chances for a nuclear moratorium to be good, (page 7).*



# THE INSIDE STORY



Detroit's Renaissance Center.

## Cockrel's DARE challenges Detroit renaissance

By John Judis

On Sept. 29, DARE (the Detroit Alliance for a Rational Economy), founded in the wake of Ken Cockrel's 1977 election to the city council, held a conference on "City Life in the '80s."

The conference attracted some 500 community organizers, politicians and interested citizens. It showcased DARE's challenges to Detroit's effort, under Mayor Coleman Young, to rebuild its downtown and refashion its riot-torn image. According to DARE, these efforts will not lead to a "New Detroit," but rather to a new downtown of luxury apartments and swank offices whose development will plunge the "old Detroit" deeper into penury and misery.

The conference also provided a glimpse of DARE itself, the only significant socialist organization in a major American city.

### Who's who of the left.

DARE is an outgrowth of Detroit's highly politicized black working class, which was raised on the union struggles of the '30s and '40s. Mayor Young, a former leftist and labor organizer is a product of this history as is Cockrel, who was a founder of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

DARE itself is an outgrowth of the Detroit left of the '60s and early '70s. Its leadership reads like a who's who of SDS and the black movement of the period: besides Cockrel, there is Sheila Murphy from the Motor City Labor League, Jack Russell and Michele Russell who started From The Ground Up, Jim Jacobs from the Detroit Organizing Committee, Greg Hicks from the Black Students United Front, and Justin Ravitz, the "Marxist Judge" and former Cockrel law partner, who was elected to a ten-year term in 1972.

DARE has some 200 members who pay \$20 a year in dues, and a core of 40 activists. It is about half-white, half-black.

DARE's constitution declares it is trying to "build a majority movement for the socialist transformation of society," and Cockrel and other DARE leaders do not shy away from peppering denunciations of tax abatements or hospital closings with the argument that all these problems reflect "the private control of the collective product of our working existence by an identifiable economic elite."

But not all DARE members are socialists, nor does DARE conceive its wider following as socialist. "Our organization is socialist-led, but it doesn't have a socialist base," Jim Jacobs explained.

Unlike many of its predecessor organizations, DARE is unabashedly electoral. It probably never would have gotten off the ground without Cockrel's city council victory; and Cockrel and other DARE leaders see the election of Cockrel as mayor and of a DARE-like city council majority as a longterm goal of the organization.

*This edition (Vol. 3, No. 45) published Oct. 10, 1979, for newsstand sales Oct. 10-16.*

But DARE tempers its commitment to electoral activity with an understanding that Detroit's problems are not simply local, nor rooted in its formal political leadership. "The mere election of a few people is not the answer to the problem," Cockrel said during the conference address.

In Detroit, DARE's strategy, which is now emerging after a year of discussion, is to use the "leverage" Cockrel's city council seat gives them to wage community organizing campaigns against tax abatements, hospital closings, plant relocations, and layoffs of city workers. DARE hopes to establish a presence in some 2000 block clubs and neighborhood councils, some quite active, others dormant, that have traditionally represented Detroit's homeowners in city politics.

DARE's principal issue is tax abatements, which under Michigan law can be extended to both industrial and commercial properties. At the conference, DARE launched a campaign against a 12-year tax abatement that downtown developers have requested for Riverfront West, an upper-income highrise on Detroit's riverfront.

By making tax abatements their priority, DARE has decided to take on Coleman Young directly.

### Young's Detroit.

Along with other northern cities, Detroit's crisis dates from the '50s when both industry and middle-income whites began leaving for the suburbs. In the early '50s, Detroit Mayor Al Cobo initiated a major building campaign that included several arenas, the main city building, and Detroit's system of freeways. But Cobo's plan, which was intended to improve the downtown, backfired. The freeways destroyed existing housing, and instead of making downtown more accessible, facilitated the suburban exodus and deprived Detroit of the tax base necessary to pay for the buildings and freeways. An income tax was introduced, which only drove out more residents.

At the same time, Detroit began to lose manufacturing jobs, as the auto industry moved its plants to suburbs, the South and overseas. From 1950 to 1979, Detroit's population shrunk from 1.8 million to 1.2 million.

In the aftermath of the 1967 riot, which DARE members term a "rebellion against real injustices," Detroit came to be known as a dying city, a victim of racist neglect and the auto-industrial age.

Coleman Young won office in 1973 on a pledge to reform Detroit's police force. DARE members still refer to Young as a "progressive," and in his conference address Cockrel acknowledged that the 1973 victory and Young's subsequent abolition of STRESS, a special police force aimed at the ghetto, had a "profound effect on the city."

But Young also took office with the support of corporate leaders like Henry Ford, Max Fisher, and Al Taubman, who after 1967 had helped found New Detroit and who were turning their attention in 1973 to a plan for downtown development. According to DARE, this plan foresaw Detroit becoming an administrative center for auto and related industries. A rebuilt downtown would not only provide new jobs, but would also house high income apartment dwellers, who would strengthen Detroit's image and tax base.

This plan led to the creation of Detroit's \$337 million Renaissance Center, which contains chic boutiques, a luxury hotel and restaurants, and the office for Ford and other city businesses. A second Renaissance Center is planned next door, along with Riverfront West and the Millender Center, highrise apartments with rents starting at \$500 a month, a \$225 million shopping complex, \$130 million arena, and a \$100 million "People Mover" that will connect the

luxury highrises with the Renaissance Centers and the shopping centers.

The first Renaissance Center was built solely with private funds, but for the new developments, Young has helped the corporate leaders gain substantial local and federal aid. Together the downtown developments are expected to consume about a fifth of the federal funds allocated to Detroit—funds supposedly targeted at improving services for the poor. The People Mover alone consumes one-seventh of Detroit's transportation budget—in a city with a notoriously poor public transportation system.

Detroit granted the second Renaissance Center a 50 percent reduction in their taxes for 12 years; the Millender Center got no taxes for 12 years; and a majority of the City Council, with Cockrel dissenting, has indicated that it will grant the same 12-year free ride to Riverfront West.

At the conference DARE speakers charged that the tax abatements and grants to the developers rested on a "subterfuge." They argued that business is committed to downtown development regardless of the rebates and grants. As the recent shift of 1000 General Motors administrators from New York to Detroit indicated, the auto industry needs an administrative center, where it can coordinate marketing, financing, and research.

From DARE's standpoint, Young and the City Council are throwing money to developers that could be used to rehabilitate 2000 units of unusable public housing in Detroit (with 3000 families already on a waiting list for public housing) or that could be used to fund Detroit's General Hospital, which is threatened with a shutdown this month. "At the same time we are offering a helping hand to millionaires," Cockrel told the conference, "we don't know whether we are funding the Detroit General Hospital, the police, and the fire department."

But as Cockrel and other DARE leaders acknowledged later, DARE's alternative to Young's "grand coalition" with corporate Detroit has some weaknesses of its own. On the key issue of where jobs will come from, DARE does not have an alternative to Young or New Detroit's vision of Detroit as an administrative rather than manufacturing center. "I don't see any alternative to it," Cockrel said.

Jim Jacobs was skeptical about Detroit's ability to stem the outflow of the auto industry. "I'm really reluctant to say 'save Dodge-Main.' I'm more comfortable with 'save Dodge-Main workers' jobs.'"

And both Cockrel and Jacobs acknowledge that the kind of municipal socialism they advocate—producer and distributor cooperatives, municipal control of Detroit Edison—will hardly make up the some 100,000 jobs that would be lost if Chrysler either goes under or takes its manufacturing elsewhere.

But in accepting the vision of Detroit as an administrative center, Cockrel and DARE implicitly accept the decline of the old Detroit, whose services they are trying to preserve. "The kind of people who live in Detroit now aren't going to be benefitted by Detroit becoming the softward capital of the region," Cockrel admitted.

DARE is therefore faced with a dilemma. Cockrel sums it up this way: "You can't create an oasis of socialism in a sea of capitalism."

But as DARE's brief history begins to demonstrate, you can create an organization that directly affects City Hall and lays the foundation for a far different future. Whether DARE can continue to grow will depend largely, as Cockrel said to the conference, on whether it can become part of a national union of such organizations.

"We're faced with a situation that can't just be dealt with in Detroit," said Jacobs.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 48 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, the last week of July, the first week of August and the last week of December by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

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# Carter backs off from the crisis

By Philip Bremer  
and Robert DeGrasse

**D**URING THE CUBAN MISSILE crisis of 1962, the wife of one National Security Council staff member received a call from the White House informing her that all essential personnel had been assigned safe locations outside of Washington, in the event of nuclear war. Those with A or B classifications could take their whole family; those listed as C or D could take their spouses; with an E or F could go themselves. "I don't know how to tell you this," the caller said. "But your husband is an E-43."

The mini-crisis over Soviet troops in Cuba, which engulfed Washington throughout September and which petered out last week following President Carter's address to the nation, never came close to the tenseness of 1962. Many aides who would have been bleary-eyed from a real crisis had taken off over the week-end before the speech. Most had been focusing on other matters, such as the visit of Mexican President Lopez Portillo.

They understood that the crisis had little to do with the Soviet Union or Cuba, but reflected political struggles within the Administration and the 1980 election campaign. Still, it was not all fantasy.

The mini-crisis began as opponents of SALT II made a last ditch effort to scuttle the agreement, and it grew as the ongoing conflict between Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski dominated the response. Add to this the electoral jitters of Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), and the President, and the situation became uncontrollable in ways that verged on possibility of a real confrontation with the Soviet Union.

In his speech on Oct. 1, Carter defused the confrontation firmly by declaring that "the brigade issue is certainly no reason for a return to the cold war." As a way of reaching out his hand he added that "we must also exercise self-restraint in our relations and be sensitive to each other's concerns." Most telling, though, was the nature of his response—it avoided actions that directly attacked the Soviet Union or that might have been perceived as real threats.

Instead, the President confronted Cuba, and in a potentially dangerous departure from previous Administration stands, indicated that the U.S. is now inclined to involve itself militarily in Third World conflicts.

"We will assure," he declared, "that no Soviet unit in Cuba can be used as a combat force to threaten the security of the United States or any other nation in this hemisphere. Those nations can be confident that the United States will act in response to a request for assistance in meeting any such threat from Soviet or Cuban forces." Had he made this statement four months ago, with its ambiguity, Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza might have seized on it to demand military aid from the U.S. And it may be used as a basis for intervention in El Salvador, if insurrection against the Romero regime continues to mount.

The President's promise to establish a permanent, 50,000-man Caribbean Task Force, headquartered in Panama, and to send the U.S. to respond swiftly to any attempted military intervention in the region, contributed to the new "flexibility" as one official commented. And the Administration will now have a strong presence in Latin America. The President thus replaced the Soviet Union with Cuba as the new adversary.



He pointedly stated that "the Communist regime in Cuba is an economic failure," and that "Moscow's dominance of Cuba" virtually makes the island a puppet. And he justified potential U.S. intervention by reference to the Rio Treaty, which Cuba has long denounced. At the recent summit of non-aligned nations, the U.S. was successful in having its allies delete from the final declaration the demand in the Cuban drafts for an abrogation of the treaty.

Finally, he announced that he would order an expansion of military maneuvers in the Caribbean, including an increase in the number of troops at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo, Cuba.

Above all, though, the President's speech was a plea to pass the SALT. He equated passage of SALT II with "the survival of the human race," and emphasized that disagreement with the Soviet Union over issues such as troops in Cuba were minor compared to the common interest in "maintaining the peace and controlling nuclear arms." Thus what President Carter did not say was significant.

In the week before his address, officials were saying in off-the-record backrounders that the most likely options for a response to the Soviet brigade included cancellation of export licenses to the Soviet Union for high technology equipment such as computers, and the sale of military equipment to China. The announcement of an embargo on high technology never materialized, but it was revealed on Sept. 30 that Secretary of Defense Harold Brown would travel to Peking this week. However, a White House spokesperson said that the trip was unrelated to the Soviet troops issue. In pursuing SALT, therefore, the President rejected options that might directly antagonize the Soviet Union.

SALT became the object of Administration concern surprisingly late, only in the middle of September. Until then, officials believed that the Soviet Union would respond in a way that might allow the Administration to say the "status quo" had changed for the better. They hoped the Soviets would interpret the

flap as an unplanned incident generated by Senators Richard Stone and Frank Church. In July, Sen. Stone wrote to the President about reports of an increased "Soviet military presence in Cuba." Vance responded on July 27 that "our intelligence does not warrant" such a conclusion. But in late August, after new satellite photos had been compared with radio intercepts that spoke of a Soviet "brigada," high officials claim they felt compelled to reveal the new information to Sen. Stone. (Officials have also acknowledged that they were pushed by a leak of the same information to *Aviation Week* magazine.)

As a courtesy, they say, it was decided to call Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Church first. Church then announced that there was a Soviet combat brigade in Cuba, and tied passage of SALT II to the troops' removal.

The leak to *Aviation Week*, and the July leak to Sen. Stone, "seems to have come from the Defense Intelligence Agency," according to one well placed source in the Administration. Several sources said that the intention was clear—to complicate the SALT debate as the hearings on the treaty were ending in the Senate. Despite this—or perhaps consistent with this goal—national security advisor Brzezinski then encouraged the President to deal with the situation in a bellicose manner. Brzezinski argued that the Soviet Union, through Cuba, had gained recent advantages over the U.S. He apparently cited the victory of the Sandinista Liberation Front in Nicaragua and the anti-U.S. tone of the draft non-aligned summit declaration. When combined with the "loss of Iran," Brzezinski allegedly asserted immediately after Labor Day that the President's image as a strong leader had suffered, which weakened further his chance for re-election. A tough stance against the troops, it was argued, would indicate to the Soviet Union that the U.S. was not taking the U.S. for granted, and it might have an impact on the non-aligned meeting then taking place in Cuba.

When the Soviets remained firm in

their position, SALT looked as if it might be a casualty of the hard line. By Sept. 24 officials had decided to back away from the confrontation, and sought ways of cutting their losses. One strategy was to continue pressuring the Soviets to make a concession.

Meanwhile, the President had assembled a group of "wise men." Headed by former Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, the group included former Secretaries of State Dean Rusk, William Rogers and Henry Kissinger, former ambassadors Averill Harriman and Sol Linowitz, and former undersecretaries of State George Ball and Nicholas Katzenbach. (Katzenbach is now general counsel of International Business Machines and may have been influential in ensuring that the technology trade embargo was tabled.) In short, this was the foreign policy establishment, the leaders with whom Vance felt closest, including some staunch opponents of Brzezinski.

It is not clear if the Secretary called them in, encouraged them to contact President Carter (which they did initially), or merely endorsed the group's formation. Nor is it clear whether the President sought their advice as a way to ratify a previously taken decision. But their presence indicated the eclipse of the Brzezinski position and the emphasis on saving SALT.

While SALT II is little more than a planning agreement between the Pentagon and the Kremlin, it is virtually all that is left of Candidate Carter's pledge of "zero nuclear weapons." He entered the White House with support from Democratic elder statesmen such as Ball and Clifford, who favors a stable world system in which arms control is one way of preventing conflict. Defeat of SALT II would not only affect the President's credibility as a world leader, it would almost insure that further attempts to control the proliferation of nuclear weapons would be stalled. Progress toward international stability through arms control has already eroded steadily during the Carter administration. Attempts to slow the spread of nuclear

Continued on page 17.



# IN SHORT

## Freed nuclear foes plan move against G.E.



Arresting Sheriff Amos Ward leads trespassing protestors to booking area.

Rogers County in northeast Oklahoma, where the sheriff used to shear off the long hair and beards of arrested youths, is hardly the kind of setting for an anti-nuclear energy victory. But a recent hung jury trial that freed 399 protestors charged with trespassing at a nuclear

power site could be followed by a contempt of court move against General Electric (GE) corporation for failing to show a judge a company document relating to nuclear safety.

Jurors, in a 3-to-3 split, failed to find the protestors guilty of trespassing

misdeemeanor charges. Several news persons covering the demonstration are still awaiting trial on trespassing charges, however. The prosecution has indicated charges will not be refiled against the demonstrators.

GE and attorneys for Public Service Company of Oklahoma's Black Fox nuclear power plant site at Inola had pressed for a simple trespassing action after a June 2 occupation of the site during the international day of protest against nuclear energy.

Special Judge David Allen Box, in a denial of requests by GE and power company lawyers, ruled in favor of a jury trial and courtroom debate of the nuclear safety issue. The debate, attempting to show duress and fear in the minds of protestors, included anti-nuclear testimony from former Manhattan Project team member John Gofman.

The defense also wanted to cite details of 27 unresolved safety defects at nuclear plants designed by GE that were reportedly outlined in an in-house GE marketing report. But the company refused.

A visibly angered Box said "it's my feeling you should have been here prepared to produce (the report). Frankly, I'm perturbed that you didn't." Defense attorneys requested GE be cited for contempt of court. A hearing is slated for Oct. 12.

—Janet Pearson

## Gays to march on D.C. Oct. 14

Gay men and lesbians plan to cap a presidential petition with a march on Washington, D.C., Oct. 14 in a call for an extension of the 1964 and 1968 Civil Rights Act to protect homosexuals.

The National Gay Task Force (NGTF) said President Carter will be petitioned in an attempt to make him live up to what the NGTF said were his campaign promises to bar all discrimination against gay people. The action, endorsed by the National Organization for Women and the Gay Rights National Lobby, is also aimed at defeating a fundamentalist Christian-backed resolution introduced in Congress in July by Larry McDonald, D-Ga., that "homosexual acts should never be accepted in this republic."

A pro gay bill, first introduced by Bella Abzug in 1975, is being sponsored in Congress by Ted Weiss, D-N.Y., and Henry Waxman, D-Calif. It would amend civil rights law language to prohibit discrimination based on "affectional or sexual orientational" differences, according to NGTF member Ginny Vida.

A gay rights bill is also planned for introduction in the Senate by Paul Tsongas, D-Mass., according to Vida.

## US: Letelier court ruling 'deplorable'

The State Department last week used unusually harsh language to criticize Chile's Supreme Court for turning down a U.S. appeal for extradition of three former Chilean military officers for the Sept. 21, 1976 murders of Chilean exile diplomat Orlando Letelier and his American assistant, Ronni Moffitt.

U.S. Ambassador to Chile George W. Landau was called home to discuss further response to the court decision.

The State Department said "the deplorable result of the court's decision is that the three terrorists have been released from custody and are now free

on the streets of Chile." Ex-Chilean secret police leader Gen. Manuel Contreras Sepulveda and his aides Col. Pedro Espinoza Bravo and Capt. Armando Fernandez Larios were indicted by a Washington grand jury last year for planning the car bombing deaths of Letelier and Moffitt in downtown Washington.

State Department spokesman Hodding Carter said "we are deeply disappointed and gravely concerned by yesterday's (Oct. 2) decision. He said court evidence "clearly warranted the extradition of these men."

"The United States government continues to believe that the government of Chile has a duty to insure that this brutal act of terrorism does not go unpunished," he said.

## Police faulted in lesbian bar brawl

A small victory for lesbian rights was won Aug. 9 when a San Francisco jury returned guilty verdicts against police officer Daniel Marr and civilian Kevin Guerin for battery and disturbing the peace.

The charges resulted from a March 31 brawl at Peg's Place, a woman's bar (ITT, Aug. 15). After a two and a half week trial, the jury found Marr guilty of battery and disturbing the peace when seven witnesses testified that they saw him strike doorman Alene Levine. Marr, who was off-duty at the time, was working undercover in the narcotics division, but has since been "rotated" to a desk job.

The action followed a women's petition drive that obtained 25,000 signatures calling for an investigation of the incident.

Co-defendant Kevin Guerin, a medical technician, was found guilty of disturbing the peace, but acquitted on the charge of battery because none of the witnesses actually saw him hit Levine on the head with a pool cue as charged. Guerin had been part of a drunken bachelor's party of police and civilians led by Marr that allegedly went to Peg's to hassle patrons.

Judge Edward Stern, who is known

locally for his successful defense of Mario Savio in the 1963 Sheraton Palace civil rights sit-ins, sentenced Guerin to the maximum \$200 fine. He sentenced officer Marr to three years probation, a \$1,000 fine and 200 hours community work. He told Marr, "It doesn't take a great deal of manhood to be a bully. I think you were a bully on the night in question. When you degrade and demean people, you degrade and demean yourself."

Marr and vice officer Michael Kelly still face department internal affairs charges before the Police Commission. Kelly was not criminally charged in the case, but was accused of attacking and

seriously injuring bar owner Erlinda Symaco. —Katherine Bishop

## Civil disobedience to mark '29 Crash

A coalition of peace and anti-nuclear groups are planning non-violent civil disobedience to block entrances to the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) and the Department of Energy (DOE) Oct. 29—the 50th anniversary of the stock-market Crash of 1929.

Joanne Marqusee of the group Wall Street Action said training sessions for the "Manhattan Project" civil disobedience at NYSE are planned for the preceding weekend along with a demonstration Oct. 28 at New York's World Trade Center.

A Philadelphia-based umbrella organization—the Mobilization for Survival—is coordinating Washington demonstrations Oct. 28 and Oct. 29, including White House and Capitol rallies and a hoped for shutdown of DOE headquarters.

Protests at seven Trident nuclear submarine missile facilities around the country are also planned.

Marqusee said Manhattan Project demonstrators plan to block the morning opening of the stock exchange "until we are arrested or our demands are met."

According to Marqusee, NYSE demonstrators are calling for the shutdown and dismantlement of nuclear reactors and weapons as well as an end to nuclear exports. She said other demands include full employment, housing and health care as well as public ownership of energy resources and an end to human rights violations.

Washington protestors will include Japanese atomic bombing survivors and GIs exposed to radiation experiments.

Wall Street Action's address is 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012, (212) 673-0680.

The national office of Mobilization for Survival is at 3601 Locust Walk, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104, (215) 386-4875.

## Iranian 14 appeals may succeed

An Iranian Socialist Workers Party leader on a U.S. speaking tour on behalf of 14 of his party's members jailed by

the regime of the Ayatollah Khomeini says world wide protests for commutation of death sentences for 12 of the group may be working.

Farhad Nouri, who said "it remains to be seen" what will happen to him when he returns home from a six month mercy campaign in Canada, Mexico and the U.S., told IN THESE TIMES the postponing of a date with a firing squad for the "Iranian 14" could be "the first time the regime is backing down on an execution." Two women in the group are sentenced to life in prison.

Nouri cited calls for justice from individuals as well as the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and International Woodworkers unions.

Nouri said, however, that former National Iranian Oil company director Hassan Nazih may himself be charged by the regime after his ouster from his post following public and private statements of support for the 14.

According to Amnesty International, the group was arrested in June and July and tried behind closed doors on vague, informal charges of subversive activity.

Nouri said despite the Iranian Socialist Workers Party still being legal under Khomeini, the arrests appeared to be a result of the 14's "leafletting and selling newspapers in the streets." He said typical Khomeini procedure is for formal charges and sentences to be announced after carrying out executions.



You who would not normally have been executed under my new liberal policy of mercy are free to go!



# IN THE NATION

## CLEVELAND

### Kucinich gets nod for 2nd term bid

By Roldo Bartimole

CLEVELAND

**M**AYOR DENNIS J. KUCINICH faces a steep uphill battle to retain his office after surviving a non-partisan primary election, but trailing his Republican opponent, Lt. Gov. George Voinovich, by some 11,000 votes. The voting went this way: Voinovich, 47,743; Kucinich, 36,515; Basil Russo, 21,962; Charles Butts, 19,431; and Thabo Nkwenti, 1,543.

Surprisingly, Voinovich did fairly well in the black community and polls indicate that those who voted for Butts and Russo, both Democrats, will shift to Voinovich rather than Kucinich.

Kucinich, a maverick Democrat who won office by only 3,000 votes two years ago and survived a recall by some 250 votes a year ago, moved immediately to try to take advantage of his party affiliation by calling on Democrats to stop a Republican take-over of City Hall.

"Republican Voinovich's fat cat friends have bought his way into the runoff but they're not going to buy him City Hall," Kucinich said in his election night speech to campaigners. He told them Cleveland doesn't want "a money-laundering, fat cat, big business Republican as mayor of Cleveland."

Kucinich, 33 years old, made an issue of "laundered" funds because some one-half of Voinovich's \$144,000 reported donations came from Cuyahoga County Republican Party headquarters and donors were not identified.

Kucinich will have to take the battle to Voinovich and promised as much by challenging him to debate twice a week until the Nov. 6th general election. "I'm

challenging Mr. Voinovich to two debates a week in the neighborhoods of this city. And we will see how well our Republican friend can stand up toe-to-toe without the money bags to prop him up. He can't hide behind his money bags then. He can't hide behind a stack of dollar bills then."

The 43-year old Voinovich has avoided exchanging charges with Kucinich and in his victory speech indicated he would concentrate on telling people what he intends to do as mayor. Referring to Kucinich's charges, Voinovich said, "I won't allow him to get me down one of those side alleys."

Kucinich will have to attract more black votes in the general election if he is to overtake Voinovich, who finished second among black voters without the backing of any major black political leadership. Kucinich, however, wants to solidify his white ethnic support and made a special point of thanking the leader of the most vocal anti-busing group in his speech to supporters.

Political observers feel that the mayor's troubles stem from voter disenchantment over the constant confrontations between the administration and the city council and other groups. In addition to a bitter recall, the result of 50,000 signatures of voters, Cleveland watched last December as Kucinich, council and city banks failed to reach an agreement and the city became the first to default on bank loans since the Depression. The city defaulted again recently on notes held by the city's sewer department. The week before election, Kucinich made the first payments on the bank default, paying \$3.75 million of the \$14.5 million owed.

In February, with the city facing financial bankruptcy, city voters gave



Steve Cogan

Mayor Dennis Kucinich trailed the GOP in a five-candidate primary race.

Kucinich a big lift by voting two to one to retain the city's municipal light system, which both council and the banks wanted sold to meet financial obligations, and to tax themselves an extra .5 percent, increasing the city payroll tax to 1.5 percent of gross wages.

Voinovich, who has served less than a year as lieutenant governor, hit hard at the need for peace and cooperation and an end to confrontation. "Confusion and paralysis exist at City Hall because inexperienced, immature and downright rude people are holding key city government positions," Voinovich says in a typical comment.

Kucinich maintained a low key until the final week when he attacked Voinovich on campaign contributions, charging that "corrupt corporate powers" were guilty of laundering money, a system perfected by Richard Nixon," drawing an analogy to Watergate.

The black community had been split by an acrimonious fight between factions of the black leadership. Council President George Forbes, who has been a caustic foe of Kucinich, and 12 of 13 black Council members backed Russo, who is majority leader of Council, while Rep. Louis Stokes and Carl Stokes, a former mayor and now television reporter in New York City, unofficially worked for Kucinich.

Ironically, Russo, Kucinich and Voinovich all were opponents of busing. Russo ran hard on an anti-busing plank in an unsuccessful Congressional bid two years ago.

Kucinich, who refused to make any statement for a peaceful desegregation last month when the first cross-town busing of white and black school children, won the backing for re-election of CORK (Citizens Opposed to Rearranging Our Kids), the most active anti-busing group in Cleveland. ■

## SALT II

### Ford's opposition could divide Carter forces

By Patrick Leepfield

**I**N AN ADDRESS AT THE ARMY WAR College last week, former President Gerald Ford emphatically opposed the SALT II treaty "until and unless we can once again be certain of our strength." The vigorous nature of Ford's statement fueled the demands of SALT II opponents in the Senate who are demanding binding commitments by the Carter Administration to five percent annual real increases in military spending and a harder line against what treaty foe Jesse Helms (D-S.C.) has called "Soviet imperialism" in Africa and the Caribbean.

"Some suggest they are for the treaty on the assumption that the necessary defense decisions will be made," said the former president. "I don't believe vague, short-term or reversible assurances are enough; we must be certain of our strength before we accept limits on it." Ford's detailed rebuttal of the Administration case for SALT has led many in Washington to speculate over a possible Ford entrance into the Republican presidential primaries. Ford has fed such speculation by admitting he has come under considerable pressure to enter the race and by staff leaks suggesting he might accept a draft for the nomination.



Steve Kogan

Ex-president Gerry Ford: Will he take up a possible GOP draft call for the 1980 White House?

Ford's stand may heavily influence the decisions of moderate Republicans, on whom President Carter was counting for SALT ratification. Ford's Secretary of State Henry Kissinger testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee July 31 in favor of SALT II, with assurances for a hike in military spending. His testimony was counted as a plus by the Administration.

"What confounds us," a spokesman for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency told *ITT*, "is that SALT II is far superior to the Vladivostok accord Ford signed with Brezhnev in Nov. 1974. Much of what SALT II is, Ford is responsible for." White House National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski echoed this theme by asserting that "on essentially every issue the treaty is on the same track or better." He pointed to the reduction in strategic missile launchers allowed from 2400 in the Vladivostok accord to 2250 in SALT II and a freeze on the production rate of the Soviet Backfire bomber until 1985 as opposed to 1982. "SALT is a critical issue—too critical to become embroiled in partisan politics—Republican, Democrat, or otherwise," Brzezinski asserted.

The Carter Administration, which only two weeks ago optimistically predicted a decision on SALT in October, now has resigned itself to a Senate vote in December or early next year. The

excuse for the delay is the rediscovered presence of 2-3,000 Soviet troops in Cuba and the insistence by many in Congress that the treaty be waylaid until something is done about them. The postponement of the vote makes it more likely that SALT will be an issue in the presidential primaries and Senatorial elections of 1980, something Carter had hoped to avoid by molding a bi-partisan consensus around the issue.

The Carter Administration, on the advice of the President's military and budget advisors, has resisted pressures from Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia and others to increase defense spending by five percent annually. The military has admitted that current strategic weapons programs are funded at full strength and that such a substantial increase would go only into improving conventional readiness and would thus be largely irrelevant to strategic arms matters. The House of Representatives Sept. 29 approved a bill providing \$129.5 billion in military appropriations. This figure is \$2.8 billion below the Administration's request, which included a three percent hike in defense spending over and above inflation. Included in the bill is a \$2.1 billion nuclear aircraft carrier, which the Administration does not want, and \$670 million for the Air Force's MX mobile missile, sought by the President to woo conservative support for SALT. ■





Steve Kogan



# Congress is giving in to big oil

By David Moberg

**A**S CONGRESS INTENSIFIES ITS action on President Carter's midsummer energy proposals, the energy companies appear to be gaining the upper hand: revival of oil price controls languishes, the windfall profits tax is suffering assault in the Senate finance committee, and an "energy mobilization board" that could speed "priority" energy projects past environmental protection reviews draws closer to full Congressional approval.

Meanwhile, there is only slow progress toward some relief for low-income families faced with staggering heating bills this winter. Also, although synthetic fuels are not likely to receive the massive support Carter originally urged, some pilot program for their development is likely to go through, with expansion possible later.

The forces in and outside of Congress that favor controlled oil prices are hoping that the Oct. 17 demonstrations of the Campaign for Lower Energy Prices will force price controls to the center of Congressional debate. Also, an offensive in favor of conservation, brought about by government intervention and grants rather than by a general rise in prices, is gaining at the expense of proposals to expand supply through costly, questionable synthetic fuels made from coal or oil shale.

The complex variety of legislation before Congress has produced an assortment of factions and divisions rather than a simple stand-off between camps. Legislators such as Russell Long (D-LA.), the powerful chairman of the Senate finance committee, favor higher oil prices, with as much money as possible turned over to the oil companies. They emphasize production over conservation.

Another Congressional camp, including Sens. Henry Jackson (D-WA.) and Edward Kennedy (D-MA.)—with strong support from labor and various consumer groups—forthrightly opposes dropping all controls.



Middletown, Pa., residents at a hearing on the Three Mile Island accident are part of a newly aroused public concerned with their own safety.

Greg Meyer

## House debates a halt to new nuclear plants

By Peter Franchot

**"I** FIRMLY BELIEVE THE UNITED States should not build more nuclear power plants until it understands the safety significance of the serious accident at Three Mile Island," stated Edward Markey (d-Mass.), author of the first nuclear moratorium amendment ever to reach a roll call vote (scheduled for next week) in the Congress.

In an interview last week in his Washington office, Markey explained, "I represent a working class district north of Boston. My constituents are not anti-nuclear activists. But they understand the country had a close call with a nuclear catastrophe at Three Mile Island and they don't want nuclear power if it means more accidents."

Washington observers agreed that the Three Mile Island debacle has torn a huge hole in Congressional support of nuclear power and that the Markey amendment has attracted surprisingly strong support. The amendment would prohibit the Nuclear Regulatory Commission from issuing construction permits for nuclear power plants until April, 1980. Its practical effect would be to delay six to 10 proposed reactors for six months. The six-month freeze on new plants would provide enough time for Congress to sort out the safety implications of Three Mile Island and act on the recommendations of the major investigations examining the accident.

The amendment's practical impact on the nuclear program is dwarfed by its political significance. Lobbyists not that overnight Three Mile Island made a vote

Continued on page 7.

Frequent allies among pressure groups are split, with many environmentalists supporting higher oil prices as necessary for conservation or at least politically unbeatable, while labor and many consumer groups have staked out their battle primarily over decontrol.

Although environmentalists favored a heavy windfall profits tax, they plunged into the battle with mixed feelings, because Carter had tied the tax revenue to his \$88 billion synfuel plan, which they opposed.

There are members of Congress who support decontrol but like the idea of using the windfall tax money to finance various of their pet projects. The Senate Finance Committee, for example, has been having a ball voting for tax breaks to homeowners and business that total over \$100 billion. That would leave less than nothing for low-income assistance, synfuels, mass transit or other projects that Carter originally wanted to fund through the windfall profits tax.

Last week, the Senate rejected 58-39 a weak Board proposed by Senators Edmund Muskie (D-Maine), and Abraham Ribicoff, (D-Conn.). With support from the AFL-CIO, the Business Roundtable and the American Petroleum Institute, the Senate approved a strong board, conceding only limited power to the Environmental Protection Agency to halt construction of an unsafe plant.

If the Senate finance committee prevails, there may not be much money to dispense anyway. Carter's original proposal, which involved a nominal 50 percent tax on windfall profits (effectively capturing about 12 percent of increased revenues, according to the Tax Reform Research Group), would have netted \$110 billion between 1980 and 1990, according to Congressional staff estimates.

The House passed a bill that would have yielded \$104 billion over the same period. Although it had a higher tax of 60 percent on "old" oil and took a bigger bite at first out of windfall profits, the House bill increased exemptions more quickly. Carter would have continued a tax on newly discovered oil

Continued on next page.



# Congress

Continued from previous page.

(except from Alaska) after 1990, but the House proposal dropped taxes on new oil and "tertiary" or "very hard to get" oil, while retaining taxes on some categories. A second administration proposal, which would bring in \$118 billion, adopted some of the House features, but continued taxes on newly discovered oil.

The Senate finance committee has already cut their tax proposal down to around \$72 billion and is expected to go lower. New and tertiary oil would be exempted immediately. Also, independents producing from "stripper" wells would get a special exemption. Although the Senate finance tax bill raises the rate on oil produced before 1972 to 75 percent, that would yield only an extra \$1 billion.

"The windfall profit tax was weak to start with," Ed Rothschild of Energy Action said, reflecting the growing anger of consumer and labor lobbyists. "What's happened now is you have to use a microscope to find out what they're taxing." The Senate finance action suggests that even the lowered taxes might be spent on tax credits that would help businesses and upper income homeowners disproportionately.

Environmentalists have been most concerned about the proposed Energy Mobilization Board, which would have powers to speed priority energy projects through federal, state or local regulatory processes. Several versions exist, but the most "Orwellian," in the words of one environmentalist, is the House Commerce Committee proposal that would specifically permit waiving substantive environmental laws at any level. Although Carter's proposal and the Senate energy committee version limit the waiver to procedural laws, both would curtail number of laws enacted after the start of a project.

Even the weaker version, passed by the House Interior Committee, has its problems. Nobody can clearly distinguish between procedural and substantive regulation, and procedural arguments can easily dilute substantive issues. The goals of the environmental movement could easily be sacrificed on the altar of increased energy production, especially since judicial review is also limited.

Although heating oil may reach \$1 a gallon this winter and is already well over 80 cents, Congress is likely to be "too late with too little" assistance for the great numbers of poor and working class families who will be hard hit, according to consumer lobbyists. The leading proposal comes from Sen. Harrison Williams, (D-N.J.), who would provide \$1.6 billion in payments to the states according to the number of families at or below 125 percent of the lower-level budget of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and according to the number of heating "degree days," so that the coldest states would get more help. Although the program calls for funding of \$5 billion in succeeding years, even that is less than what is needed now, based on the report of a Dept. of Energy advisory committee.

Even if the drift of the energy debate has been toward the industry interests, a legislative counteroffensive may materialize. The Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition has assembled a package of bills, some of which have already been introduced, that will be pushed by Sen. Howard Metzenbaum, (D-OH), and Rep. Toby Moffett (D-Conn.). The package includes:

- price controls on domestic crude, heating oil, and natural gas;
- a conservation package largely adopted from Sen. Kennedy, including grants to homeowners, low interest loans to commercial property owners, a loan forgiveness program for industrial energy conservation—all estimated to save the equivalent of 5.4 million barrels of oil a day at a cost of \$57 billion over 10 years, but with a net savings of \$233 billion;

- a taxpayer-owned energy corporation;

- a government import authority to buy all imported crude oil and petroleum products;

- Presidential authority to require maximum refinery production if needed and to prevent hoarding;

- establishment of a strong office of special prosecutor to investigate pricing and supply violations;

- government measures—providing information, purchases, and low-interest loans—to expand the use of solar energy, wind power and gasohol to the level of 20 "quads" a year by the year 2000 (current energy use in the U.S. is over 75 quad a year);

- elimination of oil industry tax subsidies;

- preventing major energy corporations from acquiring any other business with assets of over \$100 million, breaking up production, refining, transportation and marketing of natural gas and oil, and eliminating major gas or oil company holdings of coal, uranium or solar resources;

- low income fuel assistance.

Prospects for the Kennedy conservation proposals, the solar bank and an alcohol production bill appear to be fairly good, although perhaps in very scaled down forms. It is still possible that Congress may shift away slightly from its devotion to high prices, stimulating production of expensive, exotic fuels, and reliance on market pressures and tax credits and move instead toward a low-price, renewable energy program with direct government aid to facilitate the transition.

At the moment, however, the oil industry is headed to victory.

# Nuke halt

Continued from page 6.

for a moratorium proposal on the "peaceful atom" politically viable. The mere fact that the Markey amendment has gained broad support in the House is a defeat and a shock for the nuclear industry, the lobbyists note.

In addition, the vote on the Markey Amendment provides a clear test on nuclear policy as an issue in the 1980 elections. Rep. Morris Udall (D-Ariz.), the influential Chairman of the House Interior Committee, remarked recently that: "The potential is there for making nuclear power the centerpiece of politics in 1980. It has an intensity all its own."

Anti-nuclear activists say that Congressional heads will roll in the 1980 elections. The Markey amendment will separate pro-nuclear Congressional zealots from representatives who show some skepticism or neutrality on nuclear power.

The Markey amendment is the latest indication that a new nuclear agenda has been created in the Congress by Three Mile Island. Speeding up the licensing of nuclear plants, a major goal of the industry, is clearly dead in Congress. Nuclear power plants were explicitly omitted from jurisdiction of the new Energy Mobilization Board. Industry efforts to saddle the federal government with the cost and responsibility of disposing of spent reactor fuel failed in the House. The Senate passed an amendment requiring evacuation plans in states with nuclear power plants—failure to gain approved plans

means no new nuclear plants for those states and shutdown of existing reactors by June 1, 1980. The industry has gone from supporting legislation that expands the nuclear program, to defensively protecting the status quo.

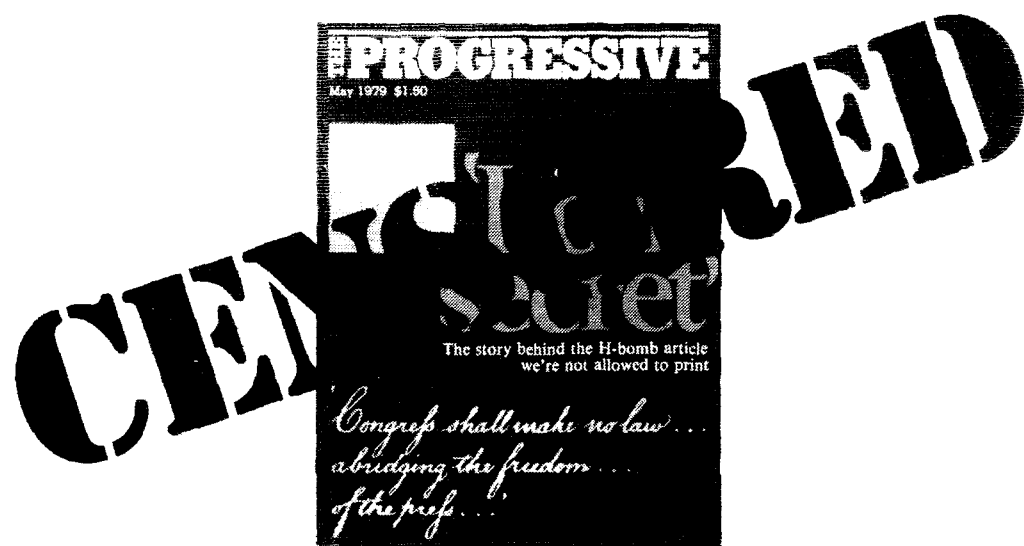
The industry has launched a ferocious nationwide attack on the Markey amendment. Congressional offices have been deluged with form letters from construction union members, and nuclear industry and electric utility employees. Their acknowledged strategy is to misrepresent the amendment as the end of nuclear power and appeal to Congressional hysteria about the energy crisis with references to electrical blackouts, gasoline shortages, and dependency on foreign oil imports.

But the Markey amendment is not without friends. The United Auto Workers, the Machinists Union, and the United Mine Workers lobbied shoulder to shoulder with the Union of Concerned Scientists and Ralph Nader's Critical Mass in getting the Markey amendment through the House Interior Committee by a 23-7 vote.

The amendment was subsequently defeated in the House Commerce Committee by a narrow vote, but it will be offered on the House floor as an Interior Committee amendment to the NRC budget. Important House leaders such as Morris Udall (D-Ariz.), John Dingell (D-Mich.), and Harley Staggers (D-W.Va.), have indicated their support. In the Senate, influential Senators such as Kennedy, Hart, Randolph, Cranston, Hatfield, and Percy have gone on record as supporting the amendment.

Peter Franchot is the Legislative Counsel of the Union of Concerned Scientists.

# The Biggest Cover-Up Since Watergate!



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The Progressive, a 70-year-old national political magazine, has been muzzled by the Federal Government since March 1979. That's when the U.S. Department of Energy went to court to obtain the first prior restraint ever issued against an American publication on grounds of "national security."

The target of the cover-up is an article by free-lance writer Howard Morland about secrecy in the Government's hydrogen bomb program. It pulls the H-bomb "secret" from encyclopedias, science journals, and other public sources—and points out that secrecy serves only to protect the nuclear weapons bureaucracy from public examination. The Progressive, with the help of many, is battling this unprecedented act of Government censorship.

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## INSURANCE AND COMMUNITIES

# Anti-redlining avoids the issue



Clare Hart

Without question, insurance availability and insurance affordability in urban areas are crises of monstrous proportions. The tentacles of these crises reach into diverse areas of mortgage financing and property appraisals thereby denying credit and sealing the doom of today's vital urban neighborhoods.

Federal Insurance Administration, 1978

By Gregory D. Squires

**T**HE ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF Insurance made a big splash recently when it fined the Insurance Company of Illinois (ICI) and its managing agent, W.W. Vincent & Co. \$104,000 for redlining older, predominantly minority neighborhoods in the city of Chicago. This is the most serious step taken by what is generally recognized as the most progressive insurance department in the country, to discourage insurers from redlining: refusing to sell insurance to individuals because of the neighborhood they live in.

The company and the agency plan to appeal the decision. But even if the

department's decision should be upheld the impact on redlined communities will be negligible. Once again, the wrong issues have become the focus of public debate.

Insurance redlining has been a major issue in recent years, with most attention being devoted to the underwriting criteria and procedures insurers use to determine who qualifies for insurance, and at what price. Community groups like Metropolitan Area Housing Alliance, ACORN, AID and others charge the industry with discriminating against older, mostly minority, urban neighborhoods. They call for laws prohibiting companies from using geographic location as a reason for refusing to write policies, more agents in urban communities, and other actions to bring insurers back into the city. Insurers respond that their decisions are based primarily on loss experience, rather than unfair discrimination. If minorities have more difficulty obtaining insurance, it is simply a function of the fact that they live in areas prone to the kinds of accidents that produce losses. The industry claims that by better educating the consumer about the economics of the in-

### Insurance firms redline because of profits, not because they are prejudiced.

insurance industry, the redlining issue will be defused.

But the debate over insurance underwriting fails to get at the heart of the disinvestment crises facing inner cities throughout the country. Redlining and disinvestment are a result of the basic conflict between the profit interests of insurance companies and the insurance needs of communities. The primary objective of any insurance company, like any other business, is to make a profit. One industry group described profit as "the cornerstone of social responsibility." The amount of damage done to the buildings and the people in a community is irrelevant to the industry, as long as there are more dollars received than paid out. If losses get too high in a given area, the companies simply stop selling insurance there. Loss reduction is, at best, a secondary consideration. Reliance by the industry on underwriting criteria like age of buildings, sex, or geographic location rather than on individually controllable factors also discourages loss reduction on the part of insurers, since premiums are dictated by factors the residents cannot influence. As former Massachusetts Insurance Commissioner James Stone stated, the industry has become "the cost-plus servicing of an ever-increasing claims load."

Another factor that limits insurance availability is industry surplus requirements. Companies are generally restricted to writing three dollars of insurance for every dollar of surplus available to meet potential liabilities. Declining profits from poor underwriting and investment experiences, which the industry faced in the

early 1970s, drains company surplus and restricts the amount of insurance that can be written.

Corporate mergers have a similar effect. Frequently the parent corporation will use insurance company surplus to pay a dividend to its stockholders or for a variety of other investment purposes. A.M. Best estimated that \$2.25 billion moved upstream from insurers to parent companies between 1969 and 1973. So the amount of insurance available to homeowners is frequently determined by the investment activities of a few corporate financiers and by events in distant parts of the globe. The insurability of a risk and the demand for insurance is often totally irrelevant. As one observer recently concluded, "Suddenly, when the survival of Hartford's North End or Chicago's Logan Square depends on what is best for ITT, Chile does not seem so far away."

What is called for is an alternative insurance mechanism in which "profits" are reinvested back into the community, rather than distributed among stockholders around the world. By utilizing funds for various loss reduction activities (e.g. stepped up building inspections, educational safety programs for residents, low interest home improvement loans) an insurance mechanism would serve as a reinvestment rather than as a disinvestment vehicle. The feasibility of community based, non-profit insurance services is currently being examined by the Institute for Local Self Government (under a Commerce Department grant) in Berkeley, Calif., and by a coalition of private industry, community, and government organizations in Chicago.

Today many state governments self insure state owned property. Several European cities operate public insurance services to protect private homes. Some Canadian provinces currently run successful automobile insurance services. Alternatives to the private insurance industry exist, but not on a scale sufficient to meet the insurance availability problems facing inner city neighborhoods.

Legislation prohibiting geographic underwriting or requiring companies to place more agents in central city communities can have little more than symbolic affects. While insurance is provided primarily by publicly regulated but privately owned corporations, little can change, despite actions like the one taken by the Illinois Department of Insurance against ICI and W.W. Vincent & Co.

Gregory D. Squires works for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Chicago.

## ASSASSINATIONS

# Assassination bureau closes after six years

By Mark Sommer

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

**"W**ITH THE WORK OF the House Select Committee on Assassinations completed, this is a swan song for the Assassination Information Bureau," said Carl Oglesby, former president of Students for a Democratic Society and co-founder of the AIB, recently.

The AIB, a Cambridge based group, played an instrumental role in stirring public demand for the establishment of the select Committee. That Congressional body issued its final report in July, concluding in a massive 27 volume report that John F. Kennedy's assassination was "probably" the result of a conspiracy and that Martin Luther King's assassination "possibly" was.

Oglesby is back in Cambridge after spending much of the past two and a half years in Washington where he fed information to Committee staffers while monitoring the hearings.

"The Committee's portrayal of politics and power have never before been addressed by a Congressional body," says Oglesby. "There's a secret government, a sphere of power politics that goes essentially unobserved and unreported in the media and that politicians never take into account because so many are compromised by it. The invisible government includes the media and parts of the intelligence community, both national and international. And it includes high powered businessmen who have no patience with the Constitution or democratic processes, preferring to secure their objectives directly, like the big oil people."

Less than satisfied by the Committee's conclusions, Oglesby said the "actual findings were a mixed bag for everybody." Nonetheless, "it did put an end once and for all to the illusion of the lone assassin," he said. A Gallup Poll of a few years ago recorded 80 percent of the people believing in a conspiracy. The finding of conspiracy by the Committee and repudiation of the Warren Commission discomfited the media, suggests Oglesby.



Steve Kagan

AIB co-founder Carl Oglesby.

"The Committee began as a target of ridicule from the media and in Congress because of the public infighting between (Chairman) Gonzalez and (chief counsel) Sprague. The Committee was eventually reorganized and it quietly went about its work. When they came out on the side of conspiracy in their final days, it resulted in an immense release of fury and resentment in the highest media circles.

"Whatever the reactions of the media, the silence in Washington is deafening. Nobody has said anything. The media doesn't want to take this seriously—the *New York Times* now talks about two maniacs instead of one," says Oglesby.

"But a serious five and a half million investigation has found a conspiracy 'probably' and 'possibly' in these cases. The point now is to get to that. That's when you come to the problem of the invisible government," he added.

The House Assassination Committee recommended that the Justice Department reopen their investigations into the murders. The Department is currently reviewing the matter, but has indicated no intention to reopen either case.

One person whom Oglesby thinks would like to see the JFK case reopened is his brother Teddy. "Kennedy's disclaimers about reopening the case are like those around his going after the presidency, all very carefully hedged. He's said if there was new evidence he'd reconsider his support of the Warren Report."

He also thinks that Ted Kennedy is now safe in running for the presidency. The alliance between the criminal underworld and the nation's intelligence community has been put on the defensive he feels. Recent history, he claims, has borne proof that it is the sophisticated conspiracy, rather than the lone nut, that succeeds.

There is still one member of the AIB in Washington monitoring Congress and doing research. For now, however, the small "research collective" will become inactive, six years after it began. ■



# IN THE WORLD

## AFRICA

# Mozambique's fate linked to guerrilla win in Zimbabwe

By Stephen Talbot

MAPUTO MOZAMBIQUE

**N**O NATION HAS WATCHED the London conference on Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) more closely than Mozambique. The fate of this developing country's four-year-old experiment in socialism is inextricably bound up with the future of its war-torn neighbor, Zimbabwe.

Since the Rhodesian regime tried to win international recognition through elections held under martial law last April, some 30,000 Zimbabweans have crossed into Mozambique either as refugees or as new recruits for ZANU, the wing of the Patriotic Front guerrilla alliance led by Robert Mugabe. A staggering 150,000 Zimbabweans now live in camps in Mozambique—3 percent of the total population of Zimbabwe.

These figures, released recently by the Geneva-based United Nations High Commission for Refugees, indicate the growing burden the war in Zimbabwe has placed on Mozambique. The UN officially administers the Zimbabwean refugee camps, and ZANU tries to make them as self-reliant as possible, but Mozambique must also divert scarce and badly needed resources of its own to ensure the survival of the refugees.

"The worst days in the refugee camps were in 1977," ZANU's information and publicity secretary, Edilson Zvobbo, told me at ZANU headquarters here. "We had 20 to 30 deaths a day, mainly because there was simply not enough food. And this does not take into account the deaths caused by the Rhodesian massacres. Now we have 2 to 3 deaths per week. Improved sanitation, adequate water, and increased supplies of food have made the difference."

### The cost of aid.

Mozambique has lost more than \$500 million since it closed its border with Rhodesia in compliance with the UN sanctions in March 1976. The Mozambican port of Beira used to be landlocked Rhodesia's main outlet to the Indian Ocean. The border closure has sharply curtailed the city's growth. Many Mozambican dockworkers and railway workers are unemployed or under-employed, and life in Beira is noticeably more spartan than in Maputo, the capital.

These economic sacrifices have not dampened Mozambique's support for Zimbabwe's Patriotic Front guerrillas. In response to repeated Rhodesian raids into Mozambique, the leftist government of President Samora Machel has strengthened its border defenses and mobilized popular militias. The Rhodesians, who are again staging large-scale infantry assaults, usually resort to air attacks and sabotage operations. The Rhodesians also actively train and support several groups of anti-government rebels in Mozambique. These groups are small, and pose no direct threat to Mozambique's popularly-supported FRELIMO government. But they are a constant reminder of the danger that Rhodesia poses to Mozambique's future.

designed to destabilize FRELIMO and undermine Mozambique's support for the Zimbabwean guerrillas, and they have caused FRELIMO to introduce the draft and re-impose the death penalty (which it had banned) for traitors and counter-revolutionaries. Eight men from the Beira area were sentenced to death by firing squad while I was in Mozambique.

The war in Zimbabwe has not prevented Mozambique from trying to reconstruct its shattered national economy—crippled by the sudden exodus of skilled Portuguese technicians and workers after independence in June 1975. But it is also clear from my three weeks in Mozambique that the country's economic development is being stunted by the raging conflict on its border. There is a diversion of limited national resources to the country's defense. And in a recent speech to central and provincial government leaders, President Machel urged greater efforts to supply the border regions subjected to constant Rhodesian attacks. "If we abandon these regions, the enemy will occupy them," Machel stated. "If we fail to supply them, the enemy will supply them."

FRELIMO has prepared the Mozambican population for a protracted war in Zimbabwe, which would mean even greater sacrifices. In Zambia massive Rhodesian raids and an economic crisis exacerbated by the war have led to deep resentments and protests, especially from the more conservative business community, against President Kaunda's support for the guerrillas—but in Mozambique people seem genuinely inclined to maintain their support for the Patriotic Front. This is in large part a result of the 10-year armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism that Mozambicans waged for their own independence. They see the Patriotic Front's guerrilla war in Zimbabwe as a continuation of their struggle against white-minority power and privilege. This is reflected in popular songs and dance, in the FRELIMO-controlled media, and in numerous conversations I had with a wide variety of Mozambicans.

If the Rhodesian regime of Bishop Abel Muzorewa and white-minority leader Ian Smith is able to win international recognition and secure the lifting of sanctions, then the Patriotic Front and their Mozambican allies will be hard-pressed, although they will probably continue to fight. If, on the other hand, the leaders of the Patriotic Front come to power in Zimbabwe, then Mozambique's economy will take a sharp upturn. Shipments will resume along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique railway, and the port of Beira should bustle again.

But even then, even if a socialist government is established in Zimbabwe as envisioned by ZANU's President Mugabe, Mozambique's economic problems will be far from solved.

Mozambique's fundamental problem is that under colonialism it had no independent economy. Portugal lacked the capital and ability to develop its own country, leaving the Portuguese simply a parasitic ruling class that lived off the wealth of the mines and plantations in the colonies. When Portugal was overthrown in 1974, the country was left with a shattered economy and a population of 10 million people who had no experience in running a country.



Mozambique's President Samora Machel with official Mozambique symbol.

bor. Beira was Rhodesia's. The huge Cabora Bassa dam in northern Mozambique was built by South African and Western interests, and its vast power was always intended primarily for South Africa, not Mozambique.

As a result of this colonial underdevelopment, 95 percent of Mozambicans remained illiterate and few were trained to do skilled factory work. The factories that existed employed Portuguese settlers. Only the most menial and unskilled work was given to Africans.

This created enormous difficulties for FRELIMO after it took power. Most of the Portuguese, refusing to live under a government that would not guarantee them special rights and privileges, fled. Factories ground to a halt. To make matters worse, the departing Portuguese sabotaged much of the equipment or stole vital parts. At one sugar mill I

visited outside Beira, a 28-year-old FRELIMO official told me the owners had taken the plant's catalogues, making it impossible to order spare parts by number.

FRELIMO's goal has been to restore production to pre-independence levels by 1980. This is a formidable task. In addition to reorganizing factories and farms—with an emphasis on worker participation—Mozambique must create a working class. Every factory I visited had intensive on-the-job training, with Mozambicans learning to operate lathes, draft blueprints, weld parts. In some places it is slow-going: one recently reorganized metal factory managed to assemble, by hand, only 4 buses a month.

While learning production skills and attending political meetings at work, Mozambican workers are also taking crash courses in reading and writing. At Soveste, a state-owned clothing factory in Maputo, literacy classes are held during the last hour, 4:30-5:30 p.m., of the eight-hour day. The teachers are other workers. FRELIMO's first national literacy campaign reached 130,000 workers, according to the government, and the second major drive, scheduled to begin next year, is targeted to reach an additional 300,000.

## Rhodesian raids have forced Mozambique's government to impose a draft and the death penalty.

judging from my two trips to post-independence Mozambique in 1977 and now, FRELIMO's most serious economic problem is the lack of a working class. The country is still largely rural, and the urban population is small. The government is trying to create a working class by training and organizing the urban population.

While learning production skills and attending political meetings at work, Mozambican workers are also taking crash courses in reading and writing. At Soveste, a state-owned clothing factory in Maputo, literacy classes are held during the last hour, 4:30-5:30 p.m., of the eight-hour day. The teachers are other workers. FRELIMO's first national literacy campaign reached 130,000 workers, according to the government, and the second major drive, scheduled to begin next year, is targeted to reach an additional 300,000.

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but surprisingly little rancor.

For an American accustomed to violent and racially-tense cities, Mozambique's post-independence cities and towns are amazingly relaxed and free of crime. Maputo, a wide open port city in colonial days, used to have a reputation as one of the toughest towns in Africa with an average of 1,500 homicides a year. Last year, there were only 83 reported murders in Maputo. Thanks to FRELIMO's militantly anti-racist politics (and to the departure of Mozambique's worst racists), Mozambique today is the least racist country I have ever visited.

But as Mozambique struggles with its problems, it must also contend with a war in Zimbabwe and the likelihood of a future war in South Africa. Until these conflicts are resolved, Mozambique's development will remain hindered and distorted. While supporting South Africa's leading liberation movement—the African National Congress (ANC)—Mozambique will continue to depend on South African technicians and trade, and Mozambican workers will continue to be drawn to work in South Africa's mines and industrialized economy.

In the meantime, FRELIMO plunges ahead with national reconstruction and political mobilization with whatever resources they can muster. Under the new constitution, Mozambique's economy is to be based on the principles of socialism, and the government is committed to the development of a working class.



By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**A**S THE ECONOMIC CRISIS deepens in France, a "new right" propagating notions of "biological superiority" that recall Nazi exaltation of the Aryan "master race" has emerged as a rising influence on the edges of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's ruling right-wing coalition. A group of intellectuals headed by Alain de Benoist, 36, have put aside the old ultra-right practice of hitting opponents over the head with iron bars in order to seek "cultural hegemony, as a precondition for achieving political hegemony."

Through the eleven-year-old Research and Study Group for a European Civilization (GRECE) or the four-year-old Club de l'Horloge, whose exclusive membership is picked among top graduates of elite schools earmarked for key posts in government, the new right, as the press has named it this summer, has had growing success in purveying an ideology of "natural" inequality that justifies sacrificing the "inferior" part of the population for the good of the "superior."

Giscard projects the perfect image of the civilized liberal, polite and eclectic, who started his presidency by inviting a group of amazed African street sweepers into the Elysee palace for coffee and rolls. Ideologically, his coalition is a hodge-podge. But in action, Prime Minister Raymond Barre's economic liberalism, by letting "the world market" (profit, that is) reshape the French economy, shutting down "lame" businesses and throwing more and more people out of work, is creating a rat race favorable to the revival of Social Darwinism.

The new right theorists, with a growing audience among top government officials and a foothold in the popular press, pretend to justify ruthless competition on scientific grounds. It is "biologically natural," Benoist seems

LAI  
ndonnées,

Left: Nazi World War II poster asking French support. Right: New Right leader Alain de Benoist.

## Rightists resurrect the 'master race'

quite proud that man's genetic heritage (as he interprets it) makes him above all "a beast of prey." Moreover, political power should side with the strong against the weak, to help assure the survival of the fittest and a stratified society dominated by a "genetically superior" elite.

The French new right draws heavily

on the racist theories of Anglo-Saxon I.Q. champions and sociobiologists like Arthur Jensen and Edward Wilson. Otherwise, the new right tends to regard the English-speaking world as decadent and the U.S. as hopelessly corrupted by the poison of egalitarianism.

The new right is not particularly pro-French. It exalts Europe and "Indo-European man," with special admiration for the Germans. The June issue of *Elements*, organ of the Club de l'Horloge, called on Germany to take the lead in building a strong Europe. Praising Germany's economic comeback, *Elements* castigated those who "denounce German materialism, after prohibiting Germany from having any sort of ideal."

Which sort of ideal was that? The rising young junior executive types of the Club de l'Horloge are too young to be accused of Nazism. But Benoist at least is a direct organizational descendant (he started out in the neo-Nazi *Ordre Nouveau*, which a decade ago specialized in beating up leftists) of the section of the French right that sought "regeneration" with the "strong blond Aryan supermen" of Hitler's Reich. This radical right, which advocates force and technology to remake the social order, and even the race, through genetic manipulation, is opposed to the older, much larger and more visible conservative right, attached to the old social order, the nation, the family and the Catholic Church. (In fact, the first attacks on the new right came from conservative Catholics and royalists.)

The French conservative right split during the German occupation over whether or not to collaborate with the Nazis. Most rightists went with Petain and the Vichy regime; a minority sided with de Gaulle and the Resistance. This minority allied with the left on the winning side and provided a respectable haven for conservatives after the war. Meanwhile, the pro-Nazi right vanished, though many who venerated Petain continued to hate de Gaulle with a passion that only increased when de Gaulle granted independence to Algeria.

The surfacing of new currents in the French right followed de Gaulle's death and the decline of Gaullism. Aside from its conservative humanism, Gaullism was based on strengthening national industry and the domestic market to counter German power. The Giscardian strategy, based on a privileged partnership with Germany, is ready to sacrifice

much of national industry and the domestic market to conquer new positions in the world market.

In May 1968, de Gaulle, alarmed at the prospect of revolution, made his pact with the far right. Benoist saw the student revolt of May '68 as proof that both the old left and the old right had lost credibility. For a while, new left language and attitudes were adopted even by careerist youth as the only way to be smart. But in the long run, it is tiresome for those who actually run the system to pretend to be against it. Benoist's project has been to provide a self-justifying ideology to the power elite, justifying technocracy as a "meritocracy." The GRECE think tank provides ideology, research and occasional ghost-writing to prominent members of the establishment, notably Michel Poniatowski, Giscard's right hand man and former Interior Minister.

Recently, the new right has broadened its audience, thanks to Robert Hersant, the former Nazi collaborator who has bought up much of the French press, including two mass circulation national newspapers, *France Soir* and *Le Figaro*.

Benoist, a voracious reader, readily acknowledges having been inspired by Italian Communist Antonio Gramsci's idea that civil society is regulated by cultural hegemony, not by brute force. He aspires to recuperate major post-'68 issues for the right, notably ecology, regionalism and feminism. Ecology and regionalism are interpreted as the need for *lebensraum* and "defense of one's territory," a human version of animal aggressiveness that makes the world go round and the fittest survive.

Centrifugal regional movements, as in Brittany and Corsica (rather hastily embraced by French leftists on the assumption that every struggle is liberating and contributes to the revolution), are defended by the new right in the name of the right to be different—as opposed to equality. The new right is not nationalist but pro-European, and regionalism helps weaken the French national unit's resistance to a unified Europe under German leadership. The new right is even anti-imperialist, which is timely, since France technically no longer has an empire and the "imperialisms" opposed are those of the U.S. and the USSR.

As for the claim to support feminism, it seems that the 1975 law legalizing abortion was passed thanks in part to behind-the-scenes arguments developed by GRECE. Supported by Socialists and Communists, the bill was strongly opposed by the conservative right linked—in France, quite loosely—to the Catholic Church. The new right lobbied for the bill within the Giscardian right, not out of concern for women's right to choose, but as a first step towards scientific control of reproduction for the genetic improvement of the race. The new right is ready to support trends separating sexuality from reproduction, leaving the former to individual choice and controlling the latter for selective breeding. It likes the idea of legally defining the newborn infant as a "disposable foetus" for the first 48 hours after birth.

Like Nietzsche and the Nazis, the new right loathes the Judeo-Christian tradition for preaching equality and favoring the weak against the strong. Marxism, in their eyes, is just more of the same. They look back admiringly to the heroic pagan days of aristocratic Celtic head-hunters, when the strong did in the weak without a pang of bad conscience. This nostalgia for barbarian, pre-moral "human nature" is combined with science fiction prospects of breeding high I.Q. supermen to rule over a "higher civilization."

Are such ideas dangerous or just silly? It is enough to look around at comic strips, movies and other forms of popular culture to realize that technological barbarism is by far the most current vision of the future.

The new right is still far from gaining hegemony even over the French right, but its neo-Nazi ideology expresses the social brutality of economic liberalism more accurately than the liberals themselves, whose humanitarian wishes are never more than prefaces to their "realistic" regrets.

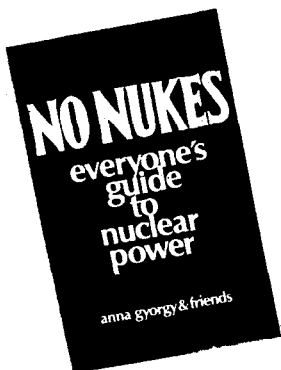


### THE SUN BETRAYED

A Study of  
the Corporate Seizure of  
U.S. Solar Energy  
Development

By RAY REECE

Solar energy is the most democratic and humane source of energy. Yet the solar promise is being subverted by an alliance of federal agencies, major corporations and utilities who want to place control of the sun in the hands of corporate officials. Ray Reece details this behind-the-scenes collusion in *The Sun Betrayed*.



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## ARMS EMBARGO

# U.S. arms-maker, linked to CIA, sells to South Africans

By Steve Connolly

BUZZARDS BAY, MASS.

**U**NIL RECENTLY A NEW England/Canadian based arms manufacturer, with close ties to the CIA and the Defense Department, was finding South Africa an exceedingly profitable weapons market, despite U.S. embargo statutes outlawing such sales.

But the cat was let out of the bag Aug. 26 when it became known to the New England press that Space Research Corporation (SRC) of North Troy, Vt. and Highwater, Quebec, is the subject of a current federal grand jury investigation.

Space Research Corp. is a relatively obscure aero-ballistics firm whose facilities and property (10,000 acres) straddles the U.S./Canadian border. New England press reports say the weapons manufacturer will be charged sometime this fall with selling South Africa specially designed long-range 155 mm howitzer cannon systems and tons of thousands of artillery shells.

This multi-million dollar arms deal is said to have occurred between 1976 through 1978. Initially, an Antiguan Union leader named Keithlyn Smith blew the whistle on Space Research in fall 1977 to the State Dept. Smith charged Space Research with using its facilities on Antigua as a cover for re-routing arms shipments to South Africa. The U.S. Customs Service was ordered to investigate the matter.

But it wasn't until nine months ago when a Vermont U.S. Attorney named William Gray was presented with solid

## If the Justice Dept. follows past practice the smugglers will go free.

facts that first raised serious questions about SRC's operations. N.E. press reports now claim that the U.S. Attorney has presented the grand jury with enough evidence to get an indictment.

Gray's major problem, if he does get the expected indictment will be convincing the Justice Dept. to prosecute SRC under the Arms Export Control Act (1964) and the recently enacted U.S. embargo laws.

The maximum penalty Space Research could receive under these laws is \$25,000, two years in prison or both.

But to date the Justice Dept. has been lax in prosecuting offenders. Neither of the two arms dealers who have been indicted by grand juries—Olin Corp. of Connecticut and Smith and Wesson Company of Massachusetts—were brought to trial. Olin Corp., through its Winchester Arms Division, was indicted for shipping rifles and light arms to South Africa; Smith and Wesson was guilty of sending Libya military night surveillance devices. Both were given light fines by the Justice Dept.



The central figure in the Space Research-South African arms deal is Gerald V. Bull, the firm's owner. Bull, 51, is a former McGill University engineering professor, who, before becoming a U.S. resident (1955), was one of Canada's top aero-ballistics experts.

During the late '50s and early '60s Bull worked closely with both his own country's military complex as well as with the U.S. Army. His major claim to fame then was developing high powered cannon guns to launch satellites into space.

This program was a joint U.S.-

Canadian effort, called High Altitude Research Project (HARP), which was scrapped in 1967 when Canada decided to withdraw from the project.

Shortly thereafter Bull went into the high-powered arms business himself and formed his own company, SRC. A Philadelphia law firm by the name of Montgomery, McCracken, Walker, and Rhoads, as well as the First Pennsylvania Bank are also said to be targets of the Vermont grand jury's investigation.

It is alleged that the law firm, which represents SRC, and the First Pennsylvania Bank, which once wrote a \$11 million loan to SRC, played major roles in the South African arms deal. Just what role has yet to be fully disclosed, but the grand jury is said by one source close to the case to have subpoenaed their respective records.

Lurking behind the scenes of the whole arms deal is the CIA. It has been speculated that sometime in 1976 the CIA brought SRC executives and South African military officials together for the purpose of finalizing the arms deal. South Africa needed howitzers and ammo, SRC needed

As one might expect, the CIA denies everything. But a State Dept. official, Edward Mulcahy, told a *Boston Globe* reporter that he attended a National Security Council sub-committee meeting in March 1977 at which a CIA official raised the point for discussion.

"But the whole thing didn't fly," he told the reporter. Mulcahy was then Assistant Undersecretary of African Affairs.

Latest findings apparently prove otherwise. Documents said to be accessible to the *Boston Globe* detail an interesting scenario.

Taking advantage of its Vermont-Quebec connection, SRC shipped overland all its cargo to the Port of St. John, New Brunswick, without interference from Canadian or American Customs officials.

SRC contracted a partially owned South African shipping company named Globus Reederij of Hamburg, W. Germany, to handle its major arms sea cargo destined for South Africa. Documents show that SRC made four major arms shipments to South Africa by sea, and 24 smaller shipments by air. All of the sea-going shipments went to South Africa via third ports of call in order to avoid detection by U.S. officials.

## SWEDISH ELECTIONS

### Social Democrats fall short again.



Social Democrat Olof Palme.

By Steve Early

**S**TOCKHOLM SWEDEN'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, who lost their rematch with the non-socialist parties in the Sept. election, are clearly worried about the reasons why. "We have created our own conservatives," said one Stockholm trade unionist sadly. "And now they are voting against us."

Of the five and a half million ballots cast in the national elections Sept. 16, only 49 percent went to the Social Democratic Party and the Communists, their allies in past labor governments.

The same three party "bourgeois

coalition" that defeated the Social Democrats in 1976 triumphed again with a one-seat margin in the 349-member Swedish Parliament and a 10,000 vote lead in the popular vote.

Many among the 2,665,560 Swedes who supported the bourgeois parties this time were unionized, white and blue-collar workers.

The Social Democrats remain the nation's largest single political party. They received twice as many votes and have twice as many seats in Parliament as the Moderates, the biggest and most conservative of the three parties now forming a new government. But the Moderates are growing fast—in part because of their call for a reduction in Sweden's high personal income taxes.

Together with the ecology-oriented Center Party and the Liberals, the Moderates created the coalition government that replaced the Social Democrats led by Prime Minister Olof Palme in 1976. Since then, Center Party leader Thorbjorn Falldin and Liberal Ola Ullsten have both served as Prime Minister. This year, the Moderate Party—headed by former Stockholm Chamber of Commerce official Gosta Bohman—got over 20 percent of the vote and increased their total by 300,000. So they will have a much greater say about the composition of the new governing coalition.

"There is a definite right-wing wind blowing in Europe and these Moderates are part of it," says one active Social Democrat. "Unfortunately, as more and

more of our workers have reached a higher standard of living in Sweden, some have begun to think that the only way to protect what they've got is to lower taxes. They're only concerned with 'me and my family'—personal and material things instead of the solidarity that got us where we are today."

Unfortunately, too, for the Left, the bourgeois parties in power over the last three years have not behaved like Maggie Thatcher ("the milk snatcher") and her resurgent British Conservatives. Here in Sweden there is still a broad political consensus in favor of maintaining the dazzling array of social welfare programs and benefits established during 44 years of Social Democratic rule.

In fact, the Social Democrats still suffer from the credibility gap that developed as a result of their 1976 campaign, when they predicted the immediate dismantling of the welfare state if their opponents were permitted to take power. When this didn't happen and the new government actually expanded the public sector by taking over ailing steel, textile, and ship-building industries to protect jobs, the Social Democrats found it difficult to play on these fears again.

Meanwhile, two controversial issues that contributed to their 1976 defeat continued to affect the Social Democrats' showing at the polls. The first is nuclear power, the second the party's close identification with an ap-

Continued on page 19.





Lonel Delevingne

A nuclear reactor on the way to Seabrook, N.H. is escorted by Massachusetts state troopers.

## ENERGY

# PAYING FOR POWER

David Moberg reviews the four leading books on the current energy crisis and their proposals for the future.

**THE POLITICS OF ENERGY**  
By Barry Commoner.  
Alfred A. Knopf, \$4.95.  
**ENERGY IN AMERICA'S FUTURE:  
THE CHOICES BEFORE US**  
(A Study Prepared for the  
Resources for the Future  
National Energy Strategies  
Project). Sam H. Schurr,  
Project Director. The Johns  
Hopkins University Press,  
\$10.95.

**ENERGY FUTURE: REPORT OF THE  
ENERGY PROJECT AT THE  
HARVARD BUSINESS SCHOOL.**  
Edited by Robert Stobaugh  
and Daniel Yergin.  
Random House, \$12.95.  
**ENERGY: THE NEXT  
TWENTY YEARS.**  
(A Report Sponsored by  
the Ford Foundation). Hans  
H. Landsberg, Study Group  
Chairman. Ballinger  
Publishing Company, \$9.95.

**I**N OUR TEMPORARY, ARTIFICIAL gasoline panic last spring, most Americans were so bedeviled by long lines and rapidly rising prices that if they bothered to look into our country's energy future it may have only been far enough to figure out how to buy enough gas to get through the weekend—and how to cut back on other spending to pay for it. Then thoughts about the future may have turned to possible heating oil shortage this winter and new fears for many poor people that they would, in the words of outgoing Deputy Sec. of Energy John O'Leary, have to choose between food and fuel.

Turned skittish by these problems and growing grumpiness among the electorate, members of Congress and Carter administration advisors hastily glanced a bit further into the future and decided that they had better do something, no matter how silly, to contend with future shortages. Thus was born a brief, but fading, romance with massive production of synthetic fuels. But like so many programs born in the past six years for contending with the new energy era, the current crop of schemes is collapsing into a muddle of misguided, myopic misadventures.

We desperately need a vision of our energy future and a plan for getting there. It is not, however, simply a technical engineering question with technical solutions. It is necessarily intensely political. The choices to be made are not only about energy but also about much of the country's production of goods and values—such as equality, fairness or safety.

There are, of course, many experts, academics, businessmen and politicians who would minimize the open politics—and the conscious public decision-making—that would go into forming such an energy future. They have an easy answer: leave it all to the market. Even without the American ideological bias in favor of the market as arbiter of society's dilemmas, the difficulty in figuring out just what we should be doing and the failures of the Dept. of Energy would drive lots of people to blind faith in the unseen hand. Yet such old-time religion can be dangerous.

It is, nevertheless, the central tenet of at least two thick tomes recently published, *Energy in America's Future: The Choices Before Us* by a study group of the Resources for the Future group and *Energy: The Next Twenty Years*, a report to the Ford Foundation. A group of professors from Harvard Business School writing in *Energy Future*, share the basic faith but have some healthy streaks of agnosticism and a sufficiently worldly view to temper their zeal. Barry Commoner, in a brief, impassioned plea in *The Politics of Energy*, is the heretic. A little free market competition is a good thing when there actually is a competitive market, Commoner argues, but the public must exercise "social governance" of the economy in order to make the market work well and in many cases to supplant the market with conscious coordination.

### Key is conservation and solar.

*Energy Future* argues that we cannot count on greatly increased oil, coal, natural gas or nuclear power for salvation. They do find a role for all of these, although nuclear power gets a clearly marginal role, but none can really be expanded sufficiently, especially at a reasonable price, they argue, to meet U.S. and world needs. The "key energy source," they conclude, is conservation. And with the right public policy and incentives, solar power could provide between one-fifth and one-fourth of the nation's energy requirements by the year 2000.

Both the Ford and Resources for the Future studies put far more faith in coal and nuclear power, relegating solar sources to a more distant future. Commoner is very optimistic about solar possibilities, but he expects solar to advance at about the same pace as Stobaugh and Yergin do. He believes, however, that natural gas production can be dramatically expanded. It can be

a "bridging fuel" that is both clean and efficient in co-generation units—which yield heat and electricity and also permits a transition to methane generated from crops and waste.

The U.S. must reduce its oil imports, nearly everyone agrees. The common reasons include the threat of sudden disruption, the upward pressure on world oil prices resulting from the large U.S. demand, and the insecurity of the international economy that results from other countries' fears about the U.S. balance of payments and inflation, itself partly induced by higher oil prices.

Although the U.S. actually gets back its "petrodollars" in bank deposits and investments and its security might be guaranteed more by favoring equitable development in the Mideast rather than by backing dictators like the Shah, the international pressure on oil prices is significant. Stobaugh argues that if all the costs of extra imported oil were included in the price, a barrel would come to well over \$35 for Americans.

Such estimates, however, are at best speculative and a guide for what other oil sources should cost as possible replacements. They do suggest—as Stobaugh says—that there are grounds for public subsidies of conservation measures that would spare us the need to import so much.

Coal is abundant, *Energy Future* and the others agree, but there are so many problems in producing and using it that despite our vast reserves, we can't rely on coal as our savior. Likewise, synthetic fuels from coal or from oil shale, tar sands and such difficult sources are regarded as remote, very expensive and commercially unproven.

What about atomic power? After an initial period of promotion when costs were deliberately understated, nuclear energy has moved into a very costly phase: its reputed economic advantage over coal is unproven, there are no suitable means of disposing of wastes, "critics...have shifted the burden of proof [of nuclear safety] to the nuclear advocates on certain key technical issues," and public—including investor—reaction is shifting against nuclear generators, according to *Energy Future*. "There is simply no reasonable possibility for 'massive contributions' from nuclear power for at least the rest of the twentieth century," I.C. Bupp writes.

### Saving 40 percent of energy.

Conservation, on the other hand, "could perhaps 'supply' up to 40 percent of America's current energy usage." In the process, it may even spur growth, rather than retard it. Already there have been significant savings in many areas in the U.S., although it will take time for the effects of even the past price increases to be absorbed by making more efficient use of energy. Unfortunately, there are many barriers to conservation. Industry, for example, demands a higher rate of return (as much as 30 percent on capital after taxes) for energy-saving investment. There is little government subsidy for insulation. There is also a generally inadequate, overly conservative standard for computing cost-effectiveness of most conservation measures (as reflected in the Ford and RFF reports).

Many solar technologies would be ready to go now if there were adequate means of financing their installation and if there were not the local barriers such as inappropriate building codes, lack of trained craft people, uncertainty about "solar rights" in law, inhibitory utility pricing for back-up supplies and inadequate standards of production.

There are new ways available of using old sources, such as wood, and there are great possibilities for new technology, especially photovoltaic cells, which produce electricity when the sun strikes the cell of slightly impure silicon, for example. "If only a part of the \$2 billion of federal funds slated for the Clinch River breeder reactor were directed instead to photovoltaic purchases, the \$1,000 per-peak-kilowatt price could be achievable very soon," Modesto A. Maidique writes in *Energy Future*, "compared to a \$5,000 per-peak-



kilowatt estimated cost at Clinch River."

The Ford and RFP studies differ from *Energy Future* mainly in emphasis—plugging for coal and nuclear (seeing safety as mainly a problem of a panicky problem that must be mollified) but acknowledging solar and conservation as having some role.

Commoner draws the issue more sharply. Our problem is relying on non-renewable fuels, he says, and there are only two immediate renewable sources: solar and breeder reactors. In addition to the perils and uncertainties of nuclear, it competes for money. Commoner's emphasis on a "capital shortage" is not the point; the contemporary U.S. capitalist's problem is more one of realizing desired, sure profit to merit the investment than of finding capital. But by a more neutral accounting, his argument that capital poured into energy production can deprive other sectors of resources is valid. Nuclear or solar are in many ways competing paths, even if they're not as totally exclusive as Commoner would suggest.

#### Too big a question.

The thorniest issue in the debate is not so much the technology as the price. The Ford and RFP studies adamantly insist that oil must be completely decontrolled immediately. Domestic prices should reach the world "market" price and perhaps imports should even be penalized further. After that, everything else supposedly flows neatly and smoothly.

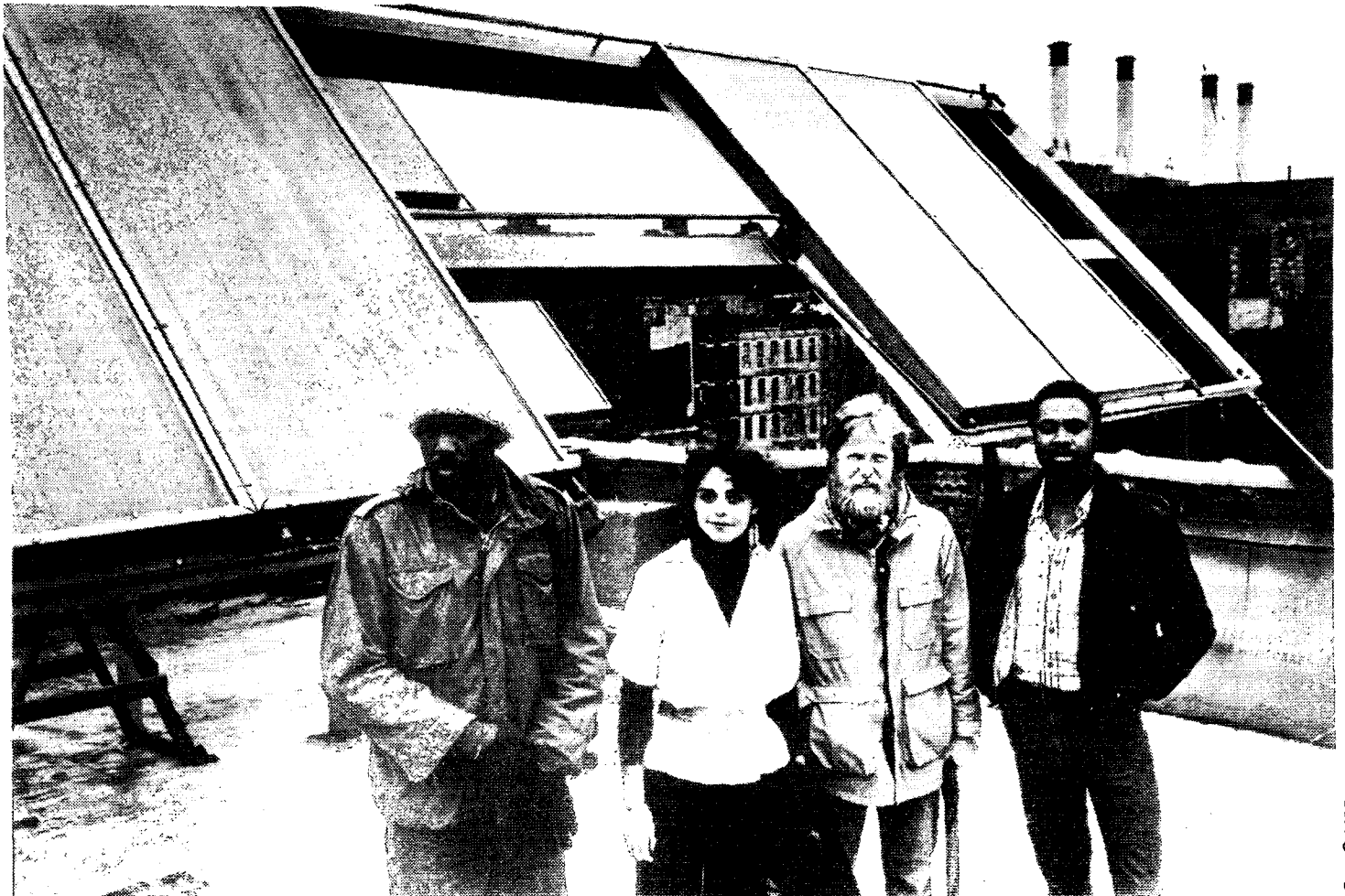
Both studies attempt to minimize the harmful effects of rapidly rising energy prices on low-income households and the inflationary impact of a bigger national oil bill. But their estimates of the transfer of income from consumers to oil companies under decontrol, of the way rising fuel prices spur inflationary spirals, and of the disproportionate burden of higher energy costs on the poor are all far, far lower than in many recent, authoritative analyses. For example, the Ford study suggests that decontrol would transfer \$5 billion from consumers to the energy corporations; a recent *Energy Action* analysis puts the corporate windfall of decontrol at over \$400 billion.

At one level the battle over decontrol is a class conflict: who will get the savings (or profit), the companies or the ordinary citizen? It is a question, in other terms, of equity and fairness, which are obviously important political criteria as well. But it is also a battle over the shape of the nation's productive apparatus.

Why should we pay more for oil? One argument is that holding down prices discourages exploration and investment. However, *Energy Future* concludes, "it is not evident that either price controls or the way they are administered have substantially held back exploration or production." Virtually every study also suggests that decontrol will yield very slight increases in production at a very high price.

The other major argument is that higher prices will induce conservation. But apart from cutting out some marginal pleasure driving, switching off lights and adjusting the thermostat, most families can't respond quickly to such "signals" until society provides some means: more efficient cars or mass transit, for example. It takes time to adjust as well, and it takes money for the investments, too. Poorer people typically have fewer ways available to contend with higher prices. Moreover, rapid price increases—especially unexpected shocks—undermine investment decisions, induce a general price rise, and contribute to insecurity for business and individuals.

Free market economists argue that price controls "distort" economic decisions and misallocate national resources. True, controls can shift resources from one group to another. That may even be a desirable distortion in some cases. It's important to remember that there are costs—in dislocation, personal hardship and anarchic adjustment—in the market solution, just as there are costs with controls.



Solar panels of the Energy Task Force on E. 11th St. of Manhattan. The building also has a wind generator.

## Our energy future is too important to be left in the hands of corporations whose primary concern is not cheap, clean energy, but their own profit.

But what if real energy prices and costs are rising? Who is to pay? Obviously as companies explore more remote areas and drill deeper their prices increase, usually exponentially. (Commoner agrees with the others in this, although he neglects to mention that the exponential increases are a switch in the U.S. from the long time during which real costs declined.) Such cost increases must be absorbed, preferably through increased energy efficiency rather than a loss of income for the user, but there is little to be gained in paying the world cartel premium for pools of cheap oil discovered long ago in the U.S. Decontrolling such oil may not only grant undeserved "windfalls" but also discourage the search for new supplies as producers exploit further these old fields.

Conservation is obviously the first order of business. Vince Taylor, in "Energy: The Easy Path," argues that the U.S. is already on the way toward significant conservation and does not need the inducement of decontrolled oil prices. In any case, there are other ways of bringing about conservation. The mandatory fuel standards for automobiles are a prime example. They have brought fuel savings faster than simply higher prices would have (especially important since one-ninth of the world's oil goes to power American cars). Positive inducements—low-interest, easily available loans, tax deductions, grants, federal purchases and many other tools—can speed already economical conservation (or solar) investments. Rather than raise energy prices, we can act to cheapen the conservation and solar alternatives.

Rather than see higher energy prices as the solution, Commoner sees them as a major part of the problem. The Harvard study group wants to see prices rise but unlike the other two they at least recognize the failures of the market and advocate a "semi-market approach." That would not only try to adjust inequities and slow the pace of price increases but also take care of the barriers to conservation that they argue are simply not wiped out by high prices (people, for example, don't tend to cut back

much on miles driven whatever the price of gasoline).

#### Market failings.

"Excessive faith in the market tends to obscure the difficulties and requirements of the needed transition away from the world of imported oil," the Harvard study concludes. Yet it is precisely faith that tilts even the Harvard study toward a more restrained but still excessive reliance on price increases and the market.

Commoner finds a place, but smaller, for the market. For example, the federal government would purchase photovoltaic cells or other desired technologies to build up the scale of an industry so that production runs become much more efficient.

But Commoner has an even more fundamental critique of the market approach. "The inefficiencies that need to be overcome are not within each of the separate, privately governed enterprises, but in their links to the rest of the productive system. However these links are 'external' to private enterprise and the famous invisible hand of the free market cannot readily reach them."

Commoner proposes linking up a system of agricultural production for a combined yield of alcohol, methane (from by-products of the fermentation and distillation), and feed (the nutritious remaining sludge) with the national gas pipelines. The gas would feed co-generation units in homes, neighborhoods and factories, supplemented by photovoltaics, electric cars, alcohol-power big vehicles and the heating of buildings by the sun.

The solar strategy requires coordination, but it also requires great sensitivity to local conditions. It benefits from mass scale of production of many elements, but is decentralized in its operation. It requires the putative flexibility of the market combined with the rational coordination of public planning.

So the energy crisis eventually comes around to a conflict over prices. It is a conflict of control, of the market and planning, of the private and the public. It is a conflict of rich and poor, but it is

also a question of the overall character of the society and its ability to meet the needs of the people.

The solar solution points the way toward a more socialized economy, Commoner says. But that doesn't necessarily mean centralized bureaucracies. It would involve "national planning; local or regional planning; public utilities; cooperatives; and, if need be, public ownership on a local or national level."

One socialized reform, for example, would be to make the oil companies public utilities, with their profit and operations publicly regulated. Experiences with electric utilities suggest the limitations of the reform, but it would give the public a handle to direct the oil companies to develop the needed oil and gas to the extent possible. It could avoid the crisis created last spring after the oil companies set up a tight market that boosted prices (which was accompanied by a great drop in the number of oil wells drilled as expectations of the deregulation windfall made postponement the better part of profit).

There is likely to be sufficient hydrocarbon fuel available to make the solar transition (although the price is an object of domestic and international dispute). The needed technology is also basically available (although not always fully commercial yet). The question that remains is social: how much public planning, control and coordination will there be? How democratic will the decisions be?

The issue is also prices, the worship of the market, the distribution of income, preservation of nature, the dominance of the profit motive—all these can, and should, be raised as we move, however slowly, toward Solar America. This is the energy future that Americans tell pollsters they want. But they also—quite reasonably—don't like to have their real incomes cut by rapidly rising real energy costs. The apparently welcome ways to be more energy efficient as long as some—relatively—essential ways of living can be preserved. Even those ways—such as the idealized suburban house—may more slowly give way to new patterns—such as denser, more energy-efficient housing.

Yes, it would be to cut down on use of non-renewable energy sources. Foreign oil may not be reliable and the U.S. purchase of so much of it may upset international markets. But it is not necessary to drop price controls on oil. It would be best not only to return those controls but also to expand the "social governance," as Commoner calls it, of energy to combine the best features of the market with the best features of planning. Our energy future is too important to leave to powerful megacorporations and the roughshod adjustments wrought by uncontrolled price increases.

Greg Cranna



# LETTERS

**IN THESE TIMES** is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## SUGAR SUBSIDIES

**Y**OUR ARTICLE ON SUGAR AND PRO-  
tective legislation for the industry  
(*ITT*, Sept. 12) is ill-conceived. It  
ignores several salient facts, prominent  
among which are:

(1) The Hawaiian cane sugar industry employs more than 8,000 workers who through unionization have become the highest paid cane sugar workers in the world, and are a major force in improving living standards and strengthening democracy in Hawaii. There is little alternative employment opportunity for the vast majority of these workers on the islands.

(2) World sugar prices are as low as they are for two basic reasons: (a) there is a glut of sugar on the world market, and (b) most foreign cane is produced under slave-like terms and conditions of employment. I doubt that most American consumers would knowingly choose to benefit from the gross exploitation of foreign workers.

(3) If the U.S. Congress does not find the means to preserve the domestic industry, U.S. consumers, already 50 percent dependent on foreign supplies, will find themselves totally dependent on foreign growers, subject to the vagaries of the world market, and the likely victims of foreign cartels.

Workers and consumers will benefit from protective legislation for domestic growers.

—James R. Herman  
President  
International Longshoremen's &  
Warehousemen's Union

## AGAINST INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE

**I** WAS SADDENED TO SEE *ITT*'S REJECTION of principled opposition to the draft (Joseph M. Schwartz, *ITT* Sept. 19) that is exemplified by many leaders of the current anti-draft movement. While Schwartz dislikes some aspects of the current drive by militarists for registration and the draft, he seeks to jump on the war-drum-driven bandwagon if the mutilations of life and liberty known as the draft are now magically transformed into "doing service for a democratic, egalitarian political community." Come, come, Schwartz, your true colors are showing behind the facade of humanitarianism. So long as slavery is instituted for your goals, your purposes, then it is fine and dandy? There may be "drafts and drafts," but these are still drafts. Schwartz may wish to put quotations around "involuntary servitude," but this does not make the draft anything less than involuntary servitude.

Schwartz can join with me in support of social goals such as greater equality for blacks, elimination of poverty, political goals such as the end of all registration and draft pogroms, abolishing the FBI, CIA, and other statist institutions, but let us seek to accomplish these goals voluntarily, without recourse to the mad Moloch, the state. Let us shake hands to fight not only State Capitalism, but also State Socialism, to root out all forms of slavery in this society.

—Kenneth R. Gregg, Jr.  
Society for Libertarian Life  
Fullerton, Ca

## VIETNAM AND OREGON

**O**NE OBSERVATION ABOUT "STARVATION rations" for prisoners in Vietnam (as claimed in Joan Baez' letter) that I haven't seen made in your paper or elsewhere: Last fall, much of the rice crop was lost due to massive flooding. Accident? Hardly.

The U.S. systematically defoliated immense stretches of Vietnamese land, which, like the coast range mountains in Oregon, is more vertical than horizontal. Vegetation has not grown back in these areas; much of it is still absolutely bare. Familiarity with mountains like this in my own state, where massive clearcutting leads to disastrous soil erosion and destruction of streambeds, lead me to the conclusion that those floods are easily predictable results of the defoliation campaign carried out in the late '60s by our own government.

The same chemical agents are currently in use by government and industry in this state and other forested areas of the world for roughly the same purpose: to remove the broadleaf vegetative covering, supposedly to let the light in to the conifer cash crop. The effects on the soil may be expected to be similar to the effects on the soil in Vietnam, though less extreme, since the doses are lower and the defoliation less complete.

The effects on people are also similar to those in Vietnam, as our veterans will testify: miscarriage, birth defects, cancer, nervous system disorders, reduced immunity to disease, gastro-intestinal disorders, kidney and liver ailments, general ill-health.

—Ann Tattersall  
Eugene, Ore.

## DEDICATION

**O**NE OF THE PLEASURES OF MY LIFE is working your politically-conscious crossword puzzle.

I've enjoyed them all—and even grown fond of Dave Mermelstein's penchant for lizards and newts in the clues. I've even enjoyed the challenge of occasional missing, misnumbered or misspelled (river nump?) clues.

But in *ITT*, Aug. 29 you've gone too far. Not only are Down and Across reversed, but many clues are missing. A call to the author—conveniently located in this city—did no good since he hadn't yet received his paper (on Sept. 8).

Please! Assign a puzzle fan to proof-read this great American pastime!

—Gretchen Donart  
Brooklyn, NY

## BOMBSVILLE

**I**N REGARDS TO THE ROCK VERSUS disco controversy, let me lay a few quotations on you;

Ken Rexroth—"Jazz is Afro-American dance music";

Duke Ellington—"It don't mean a thing if it ain't got that swing";

Charles Mingus—"I play ethnic-folk dance music";

Ralph Ellison—"The blues, the singer, the band and the dancers formed the vital whole of jazz as an institution-

al form, and even today neither part is quite complete without the rest";

Stan Freberg—"If the kids can't bop to it, bombsville!"

There should not be rivalry between rock and disco; they are both simple branches of jazz. What has happened to rock is what happened to bop. It has ceased to be danceable and has become experimental, explorative and of interest only to musicians. The kids inevitably turned to a new dance craze. Why knock it? What is wrong with young people enjoying themselves on the dance floor?

—Boris Mather  
Ottawa

## SOVIET TROOPS IN CUBA

**T**HE NEW WAVE OF CUBAN HYSTERIA follows nearly two decades of futile attempts to bring Cuba to its knees. But much to the chagrin of the Washington establishment, all of the CIA directed subversion—including attempts to murder Castro—have served only to force Cuba increasingly to rely on aid from the Soviet Union.

Now the issue is a reported 3,000 Soviet troops that have actually been in Cuba for 17 years. These troops pose no threat to our country, but the infantile reaction by many—some of whom are up for re-election—is a potential national disaster. The reason is the foolish linking of this minor issue to SALT II.

Although SALT II is insufficient by itself, ratification is an essential step in the overall struggle to reverse the nuclear arms race while there is still time.

The spurious rhetoric of the right-wing attempts to portray SALT II as weakening our security, when in reality the threat is an out-of-control arms race. Our nation already has over 9,000 deliverable nuclear warheads. This is enough to destroy every Soviet city of 100,000 population of more some 40 times, or every Soviet city of 20,000 population or more nine times.

Nevertheless, the Pentagon has a series of massive multi-billion dollar weapons systems programmed over the next decade. This includes the \$33 billion MX missile program, the Trident submarine fleet, and 12,000 new nuclear warheads scheduled for production.

None of these weapons will make us more secure. The current fascination in comparing the arsenals of the U.S. and the Soviet Union is meaningless. A nuclear war would be catastrophic under any circumstances.

—Douglas Mattern  
World Citizens Assembly

## MERELY A CHALLENGE

**T**HE BIZARRE CLAIM THAT THE CONSERVATIVE *Chicago Tribune* "blew the top off" the Justice Department drive to censor *Progressive* magazine provides a dramatic, eye-catching, but thoroughly misleading opening for your report on the denouement of the federal government's H Bomb secrecy scare. (*ITT*, Sept. 26).

It was the worker-consumer owned *Madison Press Connection* that stopped the feds. This basic fact was reported throughout the capitalist press, including the usually self-glorifying *Chicago Tribune*, but not in socialist *In These Times*.

The *Press Connection* was the only newspaper in the U.S. to publish the full text of self-taught nuclear whiz Charles Hansen's supposedly classified letter without first giving the government a chance to seek an injunction. The *Chicago Tribune's* Sept. 15 announcement that it planned to publish the letter was merely a challenge to a courtroom duel, not a courageous promise to defend the first amendment through journalistic civil disobedience.

As the *Tribune* itself reported, the *Chicago* daily "notified the federal government that it planned to print

portions of Hansen's letter...challenging the government to try to prevent publication" so that the *Tribune* could obtain its own "complete court review of this controversy" in the same circuit hearing the *Progressive* case." The *Tribune* actually published only after prior publication in the *Press Connection* forced Justice to drop the case.

Particularly misleading was your characterization of the *Press Connection* as "a newspaper run by former employees of Madison Newspapers, Inc." That's like calling *In These Times* a newspaper published by a historian. Partly accurate, but useless as description.

The *Press Connection*—originally a union strike paper, but now a permanent publication—is the only worker-run, community-owned daily newspaper in the U.S. You missed the most important lesson of the H Bomb case: that the best defenders of the first amendment are publications outside the profit system. From the financially starved *Progressive*, to the UC Berkeley campus *Daily Californian*, to the *Press Connection*, non-profit publications were the only fearless advocates of press freedom. While they risked financial ruin by courting government attacks, money-swollen commercial papers cowered in the shadows.

—Steve Askin  
(member, The Newspaper Guild, Local 71)

## BY DEFINITION?

**A**L LANNON'S ARTICLE ON SECTARIANISM (*ITT*, Sept. 12) expresses an attitude toward sectarianism that is becoming increasingly prevalent in your paper and that I find dangerous. By attacking the sectarianism of the Leninist left, he seeks to justify his own right socialist sectarianism.

Now suppression of debate by the exclusion or silencing of those who disagree with you is not the exclusive preserve of Leninists. The predominant form of sectarianism in the U.S. has always been anti-communism, of which the exclusion of communists from unions is the outstanding example. In fact, from John Judis' article on NAM it is clear that the sectarianism practiced by that organization has been directed against the left wing not the right wing of the organization.

Lannon writes, "The debate between 'economic democracy' or 'socialism' as catchwords is ultimately sterile. Confronting inflation and unemployment with concrete programs is, by definition, anti-corporate and anti-capitalist. What we call it does not matter." It is simply untrue to say that confronting inflation and unemployment is by definition anti-corporate and anti-capitalist. Ameliorating the worst evils caused by capitalism has been the policy of the ruling class since the New Deal. The government is even now proposing policies to confront inflation and unemployment that are neither anti-corporate nor anti-capitalist. The specific nature of struggles is critical in determining their political consequences, and specifying that they be concrete is neither necessary nor sufficient to ensure that they are anti-capitalist.

Lannon proposes to shut off debate on the most crucial question on the left and to assume a demonstrably incorrect answer "by definition."

—Nancy Stetten  
Nashville, Tenn.

## Correction:

Michael Katz, the author of "The Student as Student" in *In These Times*, Oct. 3, is not the author of *The Irony of Early School Reform*. He is associate professor of history and philosophy of education at the University of Nebraska, Omaha.



# DIALOG

## The new international just a UN for the left

By Peter Mandler

DIANA JOHNSTONE'S RESPONSE TO BOGDAN DENITCH'S defense of the Socialist International (ITT Sept. 12) portrays this somewhat amorphous body as an active agent of West German imperialism, planting social democratic parties in developing countries and then "colonizing" them (her word) to counter Communist infiltration and pave the way for further exploitation by Western capitalism. Her argument is reminiscent of a familiar critique of social democracy that sees it as the most sophisticated tool of organized capitalism in its struggle to defuse demands for workers' power. But to focus that often cogent argument on the International is a waste of good ammunition.

Johnstone makes much of the West German Social Democratic Party's role in and funding of the International. To argue that this funding taints the International in all its (few) functions is to argue that U.S. funding of the United Nations makes that "international" also a tool of Western imperialism. Yet the UN analogy holds true in many ways. Like the UN, the S.I. has many currents, among them a technocratic/social democratic tendency that follows the lead of the West Germans, but also strong anti-imperialist elements that openly conflict with the SPD.

The African liberation movements and the Sandinistas were both represented, although not as members, at the last S.I. Congress. And the S.I. was among the first bodies of world opinion to call for the overthrow of Somalia, offering diplomatic and material aid to the Sandinistas long before it was fashionable to do so and certainly long before the real "agents of Western imperialism" (the State Department) thought to do so.

Attributing this support to the social democrats' determination to forestall a Communist intervention takes a far too monolithic view of the International.

Like the UN, it is largely a talking shop at which action is taken only by the broadest consensus, a consensus that can be disrupted by the veto of left parties such as the Swedish Social Democrats, the French Socialists or the Spanish Socialist Workers, as well as by rightish parties like the SPD, the Italian Social Democrats (the Italian Socialist Party is also a member), or the Portuguese Socialists. Those "influential leaders of the Socialist International" whom Johnstone blames for an anti-communist hysteria—presumably Germany's Schmidt and Britain's Callaghan among them—may be influential in their own countries, in the West European concord, in the international capitalist community.

But "influence" in the International *per se* is a dubious commodity. How does "influence" manifest itself here? What, indeed, does the Socialist International do? And how is it associated any more than the UN is with the individual actions and influences of some of its constituents' leaders? Johnstone may wish to cite some instances of "colonized" social democratic parties in the Third World—she fails to do so in her article—but it would be interesting to know precisely through what mechanism the International did the colonizing. And if she wishes to discuss Helmut Schmidt's personal weight in world counsels, then that is a different

question and one without much impact on DSOC—unless, of course, she wishes to speculate on his personal impact on the political mind of Michael Harrington (the only DSOC figure with regular international contacts), a somewhat more difficult task than the destruction of a straw person such as the S.I.

It may be true that our American preoccupation with "Parties"—a phenomenon that would include DSOC's involvement with the S.I.—obscures a real need to seek out the new strategies and new issues for socialists, which non-partisan politics is now generating in Europe and in America. Many of the concrete initiatives, however, have come from within the ranks of the socialist parties. It may be exasperatingly old hat for European workers to continue to look to those parties—as they have done for one hundred years—for new resources to capitalist crisis, but that is what they do.

Some of the encouraging responses, from Olof Palme's pursuit of the "deepening" of the welfare state in Sweden, to Tony Benn's championing of democratization in Britain, to the work of the CERES group for the reunification of the workers' parties and Michel Rocard's followers for "autogestion" (workers' control) in France, come from minorities within the socialist parties, but they serve as rallying points for elements of the European Left sniffing for the winds of change. The developments mentioned by Johnstone—German *Bürgerinitiativen* and the Italian Radical Party (still a party, and still with under 10 percent of the vote)—may already have passed their peak without ever attracting mass interest or support.

Once could cite parallels from within and around the socialist parties—the SERA group of environmentalists in Britain, industrial democracy initiatives in Denmark and Sweden, advocacy of decentralization in the traditionally centripetal French Socialist Party. It is a bit early to tell whether Eurocommunists, Eurosocalists, or others will be the cutting edge of the European Left as it assesses its failures and rethinks its ideologies. But it is accordingly a bit early to give up on the poor old Socialist parties and the international umbrella under which they find it convenient to sit.

Given the intangible nature of the S.I., how does all of this affect DSOC? In this country, where political parties are bourgeois in rhetoric as well as substance and where voter apathy indicates a real lack of confidence in conventional electoral politics, traditional party

organization may indeed be an anachronism. DSOC is itself a response to this trend, for it is neither a party nor a part of one. But Johnstone is guilty of the same false analogizing for which she chides Bogdan Denitch if she believes that DSOC's loose association with traditional European parties somehow threatens its flexibility with regard to American politics.

Yet what other arguments *against* DSOC's membership can she offer? Is DSOC in danger of being colonized by its European brethren? Surely not—international contacts are few and far between often limited to a wider use of the popular fist-and-rose symbol (a minor contribution to socialist aesthetics, if nothing else). Does DSOC have an uncritical attitude to European socialist parties as a result of this association? Perhaps. There are hasty assumptions made daily by DSOC members who are new to socialism and who are only slowly feeling their way around international politics; it helps to have easy, if misleading, signposts such as International membership. This is an inevitable result of recruitment from outside the tight circles of the American Left, itself a progressive step though with painful side-effects.

But Bogdan Denitch is the best cure for this: it is indicative of DSOC's own multi-tendency approach to the multi-tendency International and its S.I. representative is a well-known defender of Eurocommunism and pointed critic of the rightward movement of the German SPD.

Johnstone's article is titled "Does DSOC gain from International ties?" DSOC may not gain from those ties, but it has little to lose because it devotes very little time and almost no money to the body. Some advantages may thus be rather insubstantial—for example, membership may help to anchor DSOC for foreign socialists who are wary of American socialism and its sectarian history and who might otherwise write us off altogether. But we might consider the coin's reverse. What does the Socialist International stand to gain from DSOC's membership? The answer—the voices of Michael Harrington and Bogdan Denitch counterposed to that of Helmut Schmidt whose motives Johnstone rightly suspects—should be attractive to American socialists who are interested in the future health of the European Left.

Peter Mandler is organizational secretary of the DSOC Youth Section and a graduate student in European history at Harvard University.

## MARK NAISON

## Jews can't rely on black Christian humanism

THE EXPRESSIONS OF HOSTILITY TOWARD AMERICAN Jews by black leaders following Andrew Young's resignation are likely to have profound reverberations among Jewish leftists. From the early '30s through the mid '60s, Jewish leftists, whether "ethnic" or assimilationist, expressed a strong identification with the black struggle for full citizenship and participated in large numbers in protests against racial discrimination in the North and the South. Self-interest as well as principle underlay this commitment: the "integrationist" thrust of the civil rights movement helped generate a political ethos that made anti-Semitism, as well as racism, seem incongruous with the American dream and made it possible for American Jews to function politically with greater self-confidence.

The first shock to Jewish identification with black goals came in the mid-'60s when black activists began to repudiate integration in favor of a hard-core ethnic strategy and began to remove blacks from positions in black organizations. A certain amount of anti-Jewish feeling accompanied this change, evoked by Jewish presence in civil rights

organizations and by the large numbers of Jews wielding power in black neighborhoods as landlords, storeowners, or employees of city agencies. But leaders of the mainstream black—the NAACP, the Urban League, and the SCLC—were careful to avoid fanning black-Jewish tensions even as they moved toward an endorsement of the ethnic strategy.

Now, for the first time in American history, the most powerful and established black organizations have united behind a declaration that black-Jewish relations are in crisis. More seriously, numerous black leaders have stated, in interviews and letters to

editors, that American Jews constitute, by virtue of their political and financial power and their intellectual influence, a major obstacle to black progress in the U.S.

It is difficult for Jewish radicals, even those who support negotiations with the PLO, to view such statements calmly. The venomous hostility towards Jews and Israel expressed by some black leaders, raises questions about the usefulness of their efforts to resolve the Palestinian question, even though the principles they have enunciated are eminently reasonable.

It is not surprising that hatred of Jews exists in black communities; an equally violent hatred of blacks can be found among American Jews, even some Jews on the left. But the willingness of black ministers, professors, and politicians to express this hostility publicly, and to give it moral legitimacy constitutes a new and dangerous phenomenon and raises the spectre of a debilitating ethnic conflict from which neither group will gain. It would be very difficult for blacks to stir up anti-Jewish feeling in the U.S. without also stirring up racism, and the obverse is also true. But the hostility between the two groups is so rooted in popular feeling—and in differences in economic position—that it is difficult to foresee a reconciliation.

It is being the case. Jewish radicals may have to function within the left, not merely in their relations with the black community, with a new sensitivity to their own ethnic interest. We have all learned, through bitter experience, that

"socialist principles" are no protection against ethnocentrism: the treatment of Jews in communist Russia, the treatment of Arabs in (once) "socialist" Israel, and the expulsion of the Chinese from Vietnam all indicate that minorities cannot count on the noble principles of Marxism to protect them from persecution.

Similarly, Jews cannot count on the radicalism of black leaders, or their Christian humanism, to prevent them from stirring up anti-Semitism if they think it's in their interest. Within the Third World nations, with whom black Americans are increasingly linked by ties of sentiment and direct contact, the struggle against colonialism, of which Israel is a primary target, has such weight as to render the persecution of Jews, whether in Argentina, Syria, or the Soviet bloc, largely irrelevant.

But it is not irrelevant to Jews. To avoid being doormats for the emancipation of Palestinians and the progress of American blacks, Jewish leftists should demand of their comrades that Israeli nationality—but not oppression—be respected and that anti-Semitism be opposed wherever it takes place. They have to back up their demands with concerted political power and with what moral influence they possess on the basis of devotion to socialist principles. Norman Podhoretz is wrong: Jewish "universalism" is not dead, but it must be tempered with a pessimism about the persistence of ethnic conflict and the amorality of the contemporary nation-state.



## IN DEPTH

# Capitalism's twilight is not an apocalypse

By Harry C. Boyte

**MICHAEL HARRINGTON IS A RARITY IN THE U.S.: A RADICAL** visionary whose ideas are taken with great seriousness in the centers of mainstream reform; a Marxist critic who has seen the nation turn attention to outrages he helped unearth and expose. Harrington's success—tribute to his own gifts and skills—is also powerful testimony to Marxism as a method of analysis, employed by an undogmatic and imaginative mind. And it is because of the very quality of Harrington's Marxism that his work also forms a useful starting point for exploring a profound irony of our time: while Marxism as critical scholarship has gained unprecedented prestige—even within the conservative American intellectual establishment, Marxism as politics seems on the retreat in many areas of the world: marginalized in the U.S., humbled by the Pope in Eastern Europe, reduced to lifeless ritual in the Soviet Union, shredded by the twists of policy and internecine feuding in Asian nations that were at the emotional center of mass movements only a few years ago.

For a popular left movement to emerge in the 1980s will require untangling this central contradiction within the left. This review of Harrington's most theoretically ambitious work, *The Twilight of Capitalism*, is an effort to help such an untangling.

"There is an openness, an anti-dogmatism, at the very center of a genuine Marxism," Harrington comments in the early pages of *Twilight*.

Himself a case in point, Harrington seeks to "rescue" what he considers the authentic Marx from subsequent distortions and then to employ what he terms the Marxist paradigm to elucidate central features of modern capitalism. In this process, he treats concepts like totality and economic determination nimbly. And he is able to refute with devastating power theorists like Daniel Bell and Raymond Aron who claim the U.S. is moving "beyond capitalism."

The lucid agility of Harrington's critical method, however, makes the flaws of his political method more notable. In his sketch of how the working class moves from raw oppression ("class in itself") to a self-conscious agency for social transformation ("class for itself"), he reproduces the Marxist view of such insurgent movement in narrowly rationalist terms: sundering "the people" from the real histories, traditions and resources that are indispensable for collective self-assertion. Moreover, having accomplished such

rupturing in theory, Harrington displays one of the abstractions common in Marxist practice. Quite aware of the doubletalk and authoritarianism that result from vulgar Marxist and Stalinist abstractions, he nonetheless is entirely myopic about the ways in which service structures crafted by social democrats and New Deal liberals produce an instrumentalism that turns citizens into clients in the name of "progress" through processes justified by ideologies of love and helping.

As noted by Marxists from Antonio Gramsci to Ralph Miliband, the process of class formation is central to any Marxist theory of politics. Thus it is remarkable that Harrington's book devotes a single paragraph to the subject. But even more striking is the treatment he gives it.

Under "normal" circumstances, he maintains, workers "feel at home" in an alienated existence. Only a few scattered thinkers "penetrate the deceptions" of the society. When a social crisis occurs, however, the "great mass of people are suddenly awakened from the hypnotic spell" which they have supposedly been under. Then, the farsighted few can discover the accuracy of their insights: "If [the majority's] perceptions then coincide with the minority who spoke in their name, the latter articulated a genuine class interest."

Other Marxists—and Harrington himself—have elsewhere put the matter with somewhat greater subtlety. But the point is that Harrington can slip back into an astonishingly oversimplified schema for describing working class revolt because his underlying model of radicalization, inherited from Marx, gives overwhelming predominance to the narrowly "rational" and "critical" components of insurgency, dramatically neglecting the complex processes of confidence-building, skill development, community-creation and self-transformation that occur as an oppressed group learns to fight against its oppression. Marx, indeed was drenched in Enlightenment assumptions that traditional relations such as family, religious institutions and beliefs and other folkways were simply superstitious backwaters of culture. And thus he held that a radical detachment from the past was intrinsic to class consciousness. He proclaimed again and again, in varying formulations, the thunderous passage from the *Eighteenth Brumaire*: "The social revolution of the nineteenth century cannot draw its poetry from the past but only from the future."

Harrington agrees. Like Marx, he sees free consciousness as the result of a radical rupture with the past. Indeed, projecting the future socialist morality as "a new, humanist and rational code," Harrington dismisses those who protest the demise of traditional relations as simply "romantic medievalists."

Yet in fact as a generation of social history has now massively documented, real-world social movements inevitably draw on rich, buried themes from the past, that coexist alongside repressive ones. One of the most exhilarating, strengthening dimensions of insurgent movements is the activation of democratic moments—free social spaces—in the traditions and institutions of an oppressed population. Such activation re-grounds present struggles in ancient folkways and remembrances, and often results in a tradition's revitalization, not its demise.

But more is lost in Marxist politics than an understanding of the depth and richness involved in social movements or the formation of a class. Cutting off "the people" from their past results in politics abstracted from the present. In advanced capitalist society, one consequence has been a frequent alliance between the left and state intervenors who, in the name of "progressive principles," ravage existing institutions of popular culture. At their most sympathetic, left thinkers have tended to see the eclipse of such relations as lamentably painful—but inevitable in the march of "progress."

In Harrington's case, myopia toward popular culture leads him to an almost complete dismissal of neoconservative arguments that state intervention is of-

ten arrogant, authoritarian and destructive. Yet as left critics like Carol Stack, Christopher Lasch and John McKnight have also argued, the structure of social services in the welfare state is often, precisely, profoundly anti-democratic, stripping people of the skills, folklore and sense of competence essential for active citizenship. Indeed, the language of progress and professionalism in social policy fields can turn human beings into things as surely as does technocratic rationality in energy planning. Thus there is linkage at the core between, for example, the energy policy of a James Schlesinger, the economic planning proposals of a John Kenneth Galbraith ("the essence of which," he has declared, "means control of public behavior") and that description by Gunnar Myrdal of modern welfare state populations as "like domesticated animals, with no conception of the wild life."

Socialist principles of equality, social and economic justice retain their urgent relevancy in the midst of the cruel priorities of late capitalism. But the question is how actually to achieve them. Such realization will only be accomplished through democratic movement building on the basis of popular traditions and institutions, unblinded by any process of abstraction that destroys the human past in the name of the future.

## MICHAEL HARRINGTON REPLIES:

Harry Boyte's comments are generous in spirit and raise issues of political, as well as broad theoretical, importance, like the relationship between neighborhood movements, the organized working-class and the Left. I want to make that substantial point the focus of this brief reply and to avoid any haggling over exactly what I said in *Twilight* or even what Marx said in *Capital*. However, I cannot resist two preliminary asides.

First, I agree that the discussion of class formation in *Twilight* is sketchy and inadequate and can only excuse myself a bit by saying that I was mainly concerned with Marxism as methodology. However it is not true that I have the mechanistic notion that a class "in itself" is somehow transformed into a class "for itself." As I noted in *Twilight*, citing Nicos Poulantzas who has put the point in much greater detail than I, there is no "economic" class independent of, or prior to, the social and ideological class. Indeed, a central point of my book is that one can never isolate economic—or political, or cultural—"factors," that these aspects of a social formation always interact with one another.

Second, I do not think Marx looked for a radical, and total, break with the past and therefore had no sense of the value of folkways. He was, after all, a Greek classicist, a man who deeply responded to Shakespeare and Balzac, and a Hegelian in the sense that he looked to see all the accomplishments of past cultures taken up into, transformed but not destroyed by, socialism ("Aufgehoben" is the untranslatable Hegelian term). So do I.

Now to the political issue. I think I have not paid sufficient attention to some of the grass roots political developments but that is not an inherent defect in methodology but a personal failing. In mitigation, however, it should be noted that the admirers of tradition—of neighborhood, family and church—whom I criticized were neo-conservatives, like Nathan Glazer, who have been making a Burkean argument that only the organically developing, spontaneous and unplanned is of value.

The truth here is dialectical: democratic national economic planning for full employment, global justice and against racism and sexism is the precondition of, not an alternative to, the revitalization of community. And conversely, planning structures will indeed be manipulative, top-down and therefore anti-socialist in the absence of conscious-

*Continued on page 17.*

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IN DEPTH

Continued from page 16.

ness and involvement at the base.

I have long argued, for instance, that one of the most imaginative New Deal reforms was the Rural Electrification Administration, which accomplished a gigantic task by subsidizing rural cooperatives with cheap money. Moreover, I have also urged—and Boyte was one of the people who helped me clarify my ideas on this count—that research and staff money must be supplied to any significant group if the right to participate in the planning process is to be more than a formality.

That planning without such involvement can be anti-socialist is the central thought of Part II of *Twilight*. Collectivization, I have been saying for years, is inevitable. But democratic, libertarian communitarianism, i.e. the socialist program for collectivism, is not. It will be achieved only through the most determined struggle and creative thinking. Boyte's writings have contributed to the latter prerequisite.

At the same time, we should be aware of the extreme complexities in these matters. Countless community

organizers have told me of how they were able to mobilize people on a single, local issue but were afraid of even raising, much less insisting upon, the larger dimensions of their socialist politics. That's why I was so delighted to speak last spring to both the activist leadership and the staff of Massachusetts Fair Share, one of the organizations that is trying to deal with this problem. For the difficulty here, to return to one of the larger themes that Boyte raises, is that a bourgeois consciousness is as important a product of capitalist society as automobiles and washing machines.

It is possible for people to become militant about this or that issue, be they workers or community activists; it is difficult in ordinary times for those same people to become aware of the systemic sources of their specific grievances.

These are not ordinary times. That does not mean that these problems will vanish, that the stagflation crisis caused by corporate power will automatically give rise to an anti-corporate movement. It does mean that the left has room for growth and development, both within the labor movement and community organizations, as well as in the new educated stratum in the nation. The differences between Boyte and me are more a matter of emphasis than of principle. ■

Carter

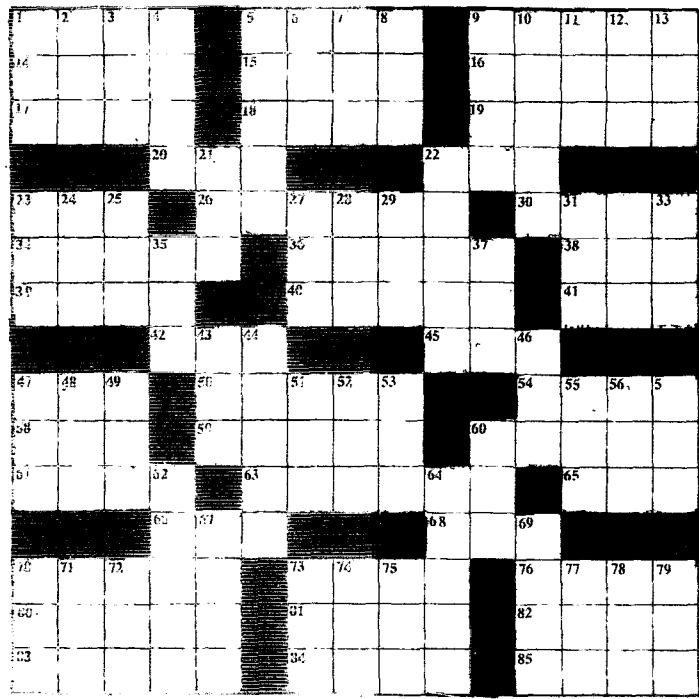
Continued from page 3.

weapons technology have been mocked by Pakistan's effort to match India's A-bomb. The Comprehensive Test Ban was gutted in an interagency battle between the Department of Energy—which designs and builds nuclear weapons—and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. SALT II itself has provided the excuse for advocates of military superiority to obtain a commitment to build the MX missile.

In the aftermath of the President's speech, the fate of SALT II remains uncertain. Before the troop issue, prospects for Senate approval looked good ac-

cording to Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd. The President's conciliatory speech gives the treaty no more than a fifty-fifty chance today. The Administration called on Senators to come forward on the issue, and Senator Byrd did endorse the treaty earlier than expected. Senator Javits also took a leading role in attempting to place the troop "crisis" in the background. But Senator Church remained inscrutable.

Just prior to the President's talk, he said that he would be satisfied if there were assurances that the troops would not be used for combat. Later, he returned to the position that the troops had to be removed. The following morning he estimated that the treaty would be debated on the Senate floor during November, but said he was unsure how he would view it. ■



"The Evil Men Do..."

By David Mermelstein

ACROSS

- 1 Evil missing one
- 5 Evil imprisoned one
- 9 Evil undicted one
- 14 \_\_\_\_\_ in Japan
- 15 Writer James
- 16 Evil sexual bigot
- 17 Part of Normie
- 18 Greek letter
- 19 Cost
- 20 Shuttle team
- 22 Where Elder begins work
- 25 Goddess personifying recklessness
- 26 Evil personified
- 30 Fail to catch
- 34 Evil Soviet
- 36 Steak orders
- 38 Cent or clover
- 39 Deserve
- 40 Evil US politician
- 41 Curve
- 42 Xmas drink

DOWN

- 45 Resort
- 47 Asian offensive
- 50 Evil German businessman
- 54 Scan
- 58 Danish coin
- 59 Cousin of radar
- 60 Evil Watergater
- 61 Camping item
- 62 Evil deposed Latin American
- 64 Literary contradiction
- 65 Possess
- 68 Possess
- 69 Former name of Tokyo
- 70 Zionist Weizmann
- 73 Messy one
- 75 Evil Korean
- 80 Evil deceased mayor
- 81 SALT participant
- 82 Evil assassinated Vietnamese
- 83 Technologist

DOWN

- 1 Kildare's org.
- 2 Spoil
- 3 See 1 Across
- 4 Bar clarification
- 5 Caribbean country
- 6 Id companion
- 7 Bridge or tennis unit
- 8 Dead or Coral
- 9 Back of the neck
- 10 Legal proceeding
- 11 Clock number
- 12 Alternative to NYSE or Amex
- 13 Scottish negative
- 21 Interjection of surprise
- 22 Pine and ash
- 23 Honest one
- 24 Drink
- 25 Make a mistake
- 27 Malay coin
- 28 Fall behind
- 29 Sea eagle
- 31 Wrath
- 32 French possessive
- 33 Ex-radical org.
- 35 Hotel
- 37 Radical sect
- 43 Permits
- 44 Indecent
- 46 Former shipping magnate
- 47 Little one
- 48 Before
- 49 Take \_\_\_\_\_ (rest)
- 51 Numero \_\_\_\_\_
- 52 Short treatise: Abbr.
- 53 Jackson or Bench
- 55 Dutch city
- 56 Summer drink
- 57 Physics branch: Abbr.
- 60 Young boy
- 62 Evil Vietnamese ex-leader
- 64 Zoo denizen
- 67 Acetate or alcohol
- 69 Catholic booklet
- 70 Precedes FGH
- 71 March
- 72 "\_\_\_\_\_ in the..." (with Meathad et al)
- 73 Underwater vessel
- 74 Laski's univ.
- 75 West, in Essen
- 77 Kept out of sight
- 78 Shoe size
- 79 Printing measures

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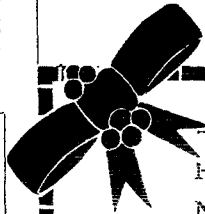
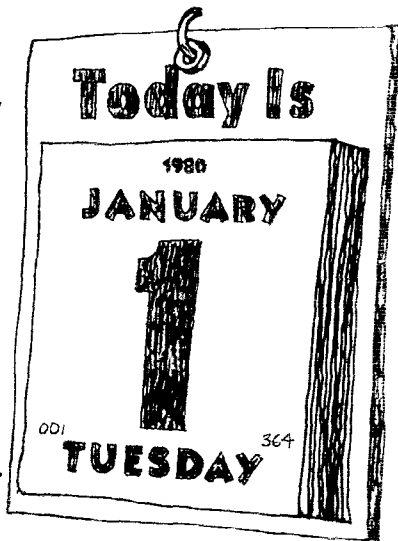
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12:30 p.m., Univ. of Wash.  
Hub Auditorium  
8:00 p.m. Seattle Ctr.  
Olympic Room

THURS., OCT. 11,  
CHICAGO, IL

4:00 p.m. Univ. of Chicago  
8:00 p.m. Parish of the  
Holy Covenant Church,  
925 Diversey.

FRIDAY, OCT. 12  
KENT, OH  
CLEVELAND, OH

12:00 Noon, 122 Satterfield  
Hall Kent State Univ.  
7:30 p.m. Millis Science  
Bldg. Schmidt Aud., 2074  
Adelbert Case Western  
Reserve Univ.

SAT., OCT. 13,  
DETROIT, MI

7:30 p.m., Univ. of Detroit  
Law School—Women's  
Justice Ctr. Atrium, 651 E.  
Jefferson.

SUN., OCT. 14,  
CINCINNATI, OH

7:30 p.m. 525 Old Chem.  
Bldg. Univ. of Cincinnati

MON., OCT. 14,  
INDIANAPOLIS, IN  
BLOOMINGTON, IN

12:00 Noon, Indiana Univ./  
Purdue Univ. at  
Indianapolis.  
7:30 p.m. 101 Woodbury  
Hall Indiana Univ.

TUES., OCT. 16,  
BALTIMORE, MD

7:00 p.m. Levering Hall  
Johns Hopkins Univ.

WED., OCT. 17,  
AMHERST, MA

3:30 p.m. Main Lecture  
Hall Hampshire College  
8:00 p.m. Thompson/104  
Univ. of Mass., Amherst

THURS., OCT. 18,  
BOSTON, MA  
PROVIDENCE, RI

12:00 Noon, Boston Univ.  
8:00 p.m. Barrus & Holley  
Brown Univ.

FRIDAY, OCT. 19,  
BOSTON, MA

2:30 p.m. Science Aud.,  
Univ. of Mass./Harbor  
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# LIFE IN THE U.S.

## LEGISLATION



Sen. Church's "reform" of the 1902 water reclamation act would mostly benefit the rich.

## Water welfare for corporate farmers

**O**VER THE NEXT YEAR, UPPER East Side drawing rooms in New York and lushly carpeted residences in Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, and elsewhere will reverberate to the anxious voices of liberal fundraisers invoking the cataclysm that may lie ahead. They will be—they already are—speaking of the spectre of Republican control of the Senate, if not in 1980, then in 1982.

There is a shade of truth in these alarms. No sane person may contemplate the prospect of Jake Garn as chairman of a major senatorial with equanimity. But a sense of balance does need to be maintained, and a fine way of acquiring this sense is to study the actions of that prime liberal, Frank Church of Idaho, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and at present the major proponent (no surprise to anyone who has studied the history of liberalism in this century) of a "reform" that will benefit mostly a very small number of very large corporations and a few rich people. This reform concerns one of the most elementary of substances: water.

### The Reclamation Act.

Back in 1902, Congress adopted a reclamation law that provided cheap water to small farmers. The law imposes a 160-acre limitation on the size of a farm using this water produced by federal effort; and under the law, the owner is required to live on the land.

In discussing the purpose of the Act after its passage, F.H. Newell, first commissioner of the U.S. Reclamation Service, said: "The object of the Reclamation Act is not to irrigate the land, which now belongs to large corporations or to small ones; it is not to make these men wealthy; but it is to bring about the conditions whereby that land shall be put into the hands of the small owner, whereby the man with a family can get enough land to support that family, to become a good citizen, and to have all the comforts and necessities which rightly belong to an American citizen."

In practice, the law has been flouted since its passage. The 160-acre limitation proved intolerable to the large agricultural interests ranged across California, particularly those on the west side of the Central Valley. For them, the cheap water acquired by various evasions of the 1902 Act became an immense subsidy, a form of welfare, courtesy of the taxpayer, to which they became addicted. One recent study by the *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* found that in the Westlands

water district of California (a reclamation area) a farm of 1760 acres will receive a \$3.8 million tax subsidy over the life of the water project.

Today, the major beneficiaries of the Reclamation Act are few in number, but extremely important in terms of agricultural production. The crop land involved is tiny, but it provides more than 30 per cent of the nation's vegetables. Enjoying the subsidy intended for small farmers are some of the biggest agribusinesses in the West. They include J.G. Boswell; Standard Oil of California; the Chandler interests (which own not only the *Los Angeles Times*, but also the Tejon Ranch—one of the largest land empires in California); Tenneco; and Bangor Punta.

### Court pressure.

By the mid-1970s, the long struggle of the small farmers to force the government to honor the Reclamation Act was beginning to have an effect. In 1976, the Federal District Court in Washington, D.C., ordered the secretary of the interior to begin enforcing the Act by promulgating rules for the transfer of land in excess of the 160-acre limit. Shortly thereafter, two other court decisions—one in San Francisco, the other in the Supreme Court—upheld acreage limitations in the Imperial Valley and elsewhere in California.

Cecil Andrus, who became secretary of the interior under Carter, tried to cope with the situation prudently by drafting rules that would enable large corporations to exchange outright ownership of large tracts of irrigated land for secondary control through lease arrangements.

But this time, pressure from the courts was mounting, and the major interests in the Central Valley felt that piecemeal lunges toward salvation had to be abandoned in favor of more robust measures, to wit: the annulment of the 1902 Act altogether. Their alarm was somewhat confounded by a string of studies, ultimately endorsed by Secretary of Agriculture Bob Bergland, demonstrating that small farms are in fact much more efficient than big ones and that the vast subsidies to agribusiness are a waste of the taxpayers' money.

At this perilous hour, the agribusiness in California and Arizona, the two areas most fructified by the reclamation subsidy, enlisted the aid of Sen. Church. They poured money into his campaign coffers and Church duly ran a bill through the Senate Energy Committee (where he is also ensconced) that amends the 1902 Act by raising the acreage limit from 160 to 1280 acres and eliminating the residency requirement.

The same group took out other insurance—lobbying the White House and Congress in droves, hosting a party for Rosalynn Carter in Palo Alto, and conferring generously with John Connally. Jimmy Carter himself was reportedly somewhat taken aback when he read in a memo the size of the subsidies enjoyed by the agribusiness interests. He appended anguished and surprised comment in the margin.

But the White House, cocking one eye at the electoral meteorology of California and the other at Brand X populism, is wallowing around as usual, with Cecil Andrus and Bob Bergland both opposing the bill. Jerry Brown, erstwhile apostle of the 160-acre limit, now supports Church's abolition of same, and has his agents in Washington lobbying to this end.

Church's bill, entitled S-14, was passed by the Senate 47-23 on Sept. 14. It will have a harder time in the House, but ultimately—if liberalism prevails—the Reclamation Act of 1902, a monument to progressive thinking, will be ruined.

### The middle ground.

Church shows little sign of being embarrassed by the small outcry against his sponsorship of S-14. He has denounced his opponents as "primarily those who favor radical land distribution and those from non-reclamation states in the East." He is, he says, taking "the middle ground," steering a virtuous course between the land barons and the hotheaded radicals. By "radicals," Church is talking—in a characteristic piece of liberal translation—about the people Theodore Roosevelt called "homesteaders."

Other Western senators share Church's view. Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., said opponents have painted a picture of California agriculture that is "twisted and distorted to the point of surrealism."

Sen. James A. McClure (R-Idaho) said the reformers' call for acreage and residency requirements is "a call for revolution" and "part of the dogma of Marxism."

### Interior Department Unhappy.

But the Interior Department, which was forced by court order to draw up the new regulations that prompted the Church bill, is unhappy with the Senate version, and will try to get some amendments in the House.

"We still have significant problems with the bill," said Dan Beard, deputy assistant secretary for land and water resources at the Department of Interior. "We believe it still allows large absentee investor-owned farms to be the predominant force in the program. Thus the social purpose of the program is still being ignored."

Tony Dechant, president of the National Farmers Union, a lobbying group made up of 300,000 mostly Midwestern farm families, called S-14 a "blatant welfare handout for the corporations and syndicates who have been violating the law for years."

George Ballis, president of the Fresno-based National Land for People, which sued the Interior Department for its non-enforcement of the 1902 Act, says the Church bill still has more than a dozen loopholes that will allow corporate farmers to keep control of the land.

Besides small farmer groups, the bill has elicited the strong opposition of labor groups, including the AFL-CIO and the United Farm Workers union. They argue that the government should not subsidize large agricultural corporations that many times are the same employers who are fighting unionization efforts among California farmworkers.

The bill now goes to the House, where it may face tough going. Rep. George Miller (D-Calif) has called it "socialism for the rich" and "the biggest Western stage coach robbery of the public since Jesse James."

This article is based on stories in the Sept. 10 *Village Voice* by Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway and in the Sept. 29 *Congressional Quarterly* by Kathy Koch.



## EDUCATION

# A short summer course on Marxism kicks off Institute

By Steve Turner

**A** SHORT, ENJOYABLE, CHEAP, effective training course in Marxist economic analysis is finally available. It's designed especially for people working around labor, community, gender, race and energy issues.

The Center for Popular Economics (CPE)—organized by teachers and graduate students at the University of Massachusetts—offers a Summer Institute for organizers and activists from around the country. The first two one-week sessions were held this August in Amherst, Ma., and they drew 88 people from 20 states, the District of Columbia and Canada.

The response was nearly unanimous enthusiasm.

"I wanted to be able to talk to my people about what's happening to their paychecks," said Elaine Norton, president of the NEA-affiliated Haverhill (Ma.) Education Association. The Summer Institute helped. "This week," she said, "I've had a door opened for me."

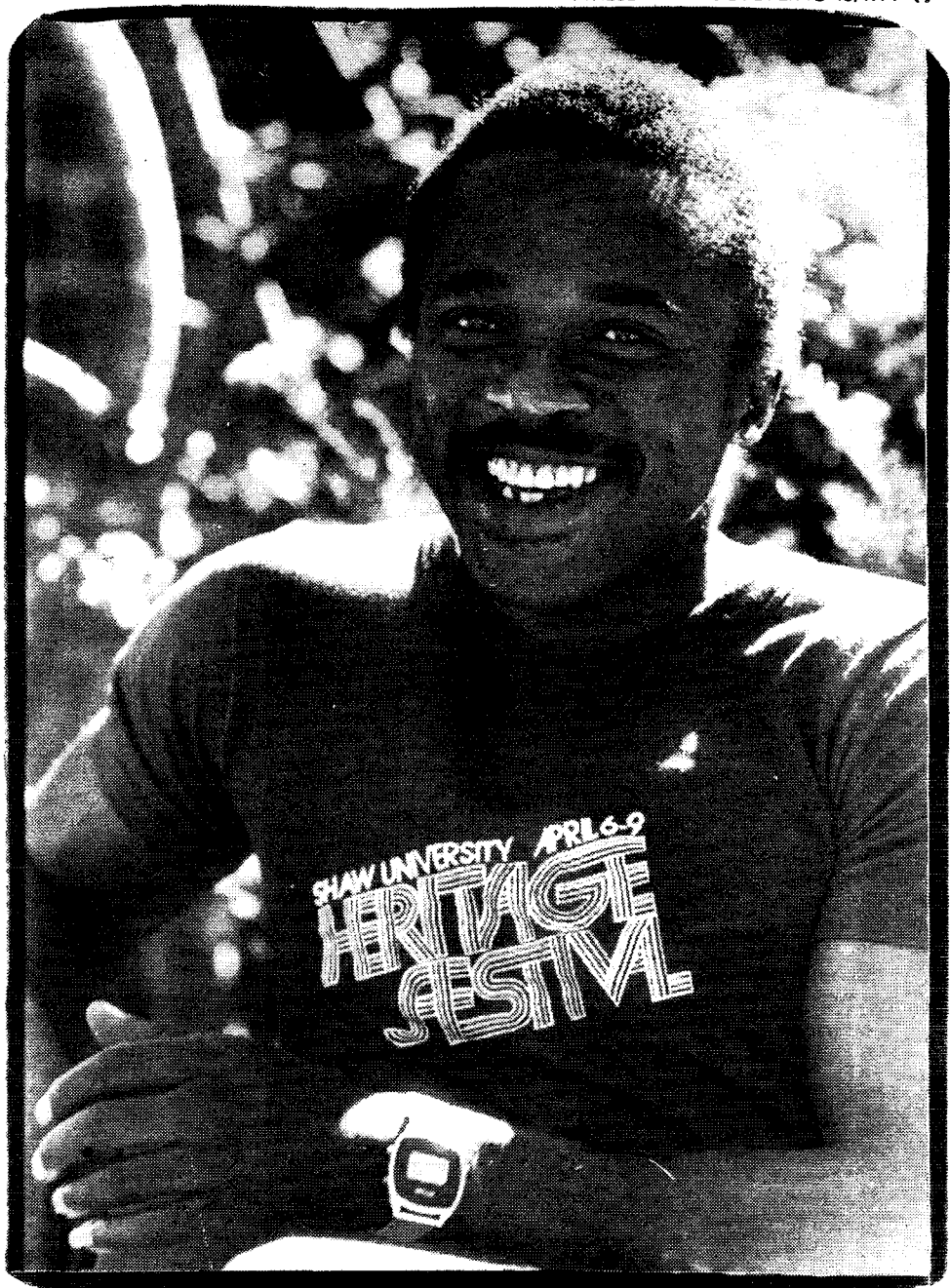
Ed Collins, business agent of IBEW Local 455 (Springfield, Ma.), felt the same way. "It's going to help me raise issues with the members in non-rhetorical terms," he said. "You can't just spit out a phrase from a book. You

**'This week a door opened for me,' one student said after the session.**

have to understand how it works."

"I had a vague framework of Marxist analysis—mainly as moral arguments—about what's wrong," said Carol Regan, a health care activist from Rhode Island, "I came here to get concrete information to substantiate those arguments. And it's given me tools."

Institute staff were happy too. "It was undoubtedly the most exhilarating teaching experience I've ever had," said instructor Julie Schor. "The participants were so well informed, and motivated, and dedicated." The intense interest in the material, said Schor, plus the eager response to the Institute itself—applicants more than doubled the number of available slots—show that "a lot of people around the country are hungry for economics." But that desire to learn has been blocked for many, she said, by an intimidating or boring or mystifying presentation of the subject. "At the Institute," she said, "there's so much to



"This was the shakedown cruise," said radio news editor Ben Dudley.

cover in such a short time that it forces us to come to grips with the material in a productive way. Every sentence takes up precious time."

Indeed, the week-long course has been condensed from something originally intended to take much longer. But CPE wanted to make sure that Institute length would be accessible to time-short organizers.

"Progressive groups around the country increasingly are told that their programs violate the 'laws of economics,'" says the Institute brochure. "'Law and Order' has been joined by 'Supply and Demand' as the rallying cry and rationale for the new conservative resurgence in the U.S. Lacking a convincing alternative economic analysis, many organizing efforts are placed on the defensive."

Aiming to aid the growth of the needed alternative analysis, the Institute curriculum included subject headings such as these: wages and labor process; attack from the New Right; macro policy and inflation; the state in capitalism; current economic crisis; political economy of the environment; socialism and workers' control. Small classes were mixed with whole-group gatherings, panel discussions, workshops on researching corporations and communities, films and slideshows and parties.

A "hands-on" demonstration of exchange value brought the United Mime Workers to the second session of the Summer Institute for Popular Economics.

The Mime troupe performed in return for two days' room and board, plus class participation. On the third day, the other participants voted to ask the Mime Workers—Bob Feldman, Jeff Glassman, Deborah Langerman, and Bob Rebitzer—to stay on.

It seemed odd at first: silent expressive acting wrapped up with talk-happy Marxist economics?

"We try to compose visual metaphors of elements, issues of the social and economic system that audiences can use as tools for reexamination," said Glassman. "So we have to weed out our own inaccuracies, or inclusions, that might backfire."

"We had been concerned with the economy and undesirable aspects of the [political-economic] system for quite a while," said Bob Feldman. "Finally, three years ago, we decided we had to do a serious study. We made a list of the

problems and issues we wanted to address—and as we listed, we realized they all had an economic base."

Starting out as a student group at the University of Illinois in Champaign (the town is still their home base), United Mime Workers has performed widely around the country and overseas. The troupe was part of the U.S. Cultural Delegation to the 1978 International Youth Festival in Cuba.

"One of the neat things about this," said Institute administrator Tom Riddell, "is that not only did people learn a lot, but they had fun."

They also had some criticisms. Participants in the first session insisted on—and got—a more thorough discussion of the economic interlocks of race, sex, and capital. And while the male-female balance of participants was about even, minorities were under-represented.

"This year we didn't have enough time or money for our advertising," said Tom Riddell. "Next year we'll be advertising in third world and minority papers, and we're hoping that some of our minority graduates will help advise the [recruitment] process." "You have to take into consideration that this was the shakedown cruise," said Washington, D.C. radio news editor Ben Dudley, the only black participant in the first session.

Riddell says that the Institute staff, which also includes Sam Bowles, Diane Flaherty, Nancy Folbre, David Kotz, Fred Mosely, Marti Rogison and Bob Sherry, will refine the program before next summer. They are also taking the show on the road. A first trial weekend version will be conducted under the sponsorship of local organizations in Milwaukee in January, says Riddell, and similar outings are hoped for elsewhere.

Riddell said CPE hopes to offer four Institute sessions next summer. The cost (for room and board only) will rise (what else?) slightly with inflation; probably to \$125. CPE still expects to raise enough outside money, however, to offer scholarships at the same level as this year—about half the cost defrayed for about half the participants, with a slight edge on assistance to applicants who live far away.

**The Center for Popular Economics can be reached at Box 785, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002.**

## Swedish elections

*Continued from page 11.*

parently unpopular plan to establish union-controlled capital investment funds that would gradually assume control over more profitable Swedish businesses through stock ownership.

Three years ago, the party's strong pro-nuke stance lost it many votes among students, intellectuals and environmentalists. They voted instead for Falldin, the Center Party candidate, who promised to stop nuclear power development and phase out existing plants. Before this year's campaign even began, the near-catastrophe at Harrisburg forced the Social Democratic leadership to make an abrupt about-face on the issue. The party immediately called for a national referendum on the future of nuclear power in Sweden next June.

Many atom plant opponents both inside and outside the party still doubt the dept of Olof Palme's concern for nuclear safety. So again this year, the Center Party and the Communists both continued to draw anti-nuclear votes away from the Social Democrats. And the small but growing Communist Party is using its surprisingly strong "no-nuke" stand to recruit active young members in student and university circles.

The union-backed proposal for "wage earners funds" that hurt Palme's reelection bid in 1976 didn't help this year either. After its last election, the Social Democrats seemed to retreat from the idea. But, in a nationally televised debate on the eve of the voting, Bohman, Falldin, and Ulsten all flailed away at what they described as a secret Social Democratic plan to "wreck Sweden's market economy" by turning control over to "a few top union officials."

Polls have shown no great enthusiasm for the funds even among rank-and-file workers, partly because of heavy right-

wing propaganda on the subject and partly because some members of Sweden's general confederation of trade unions (LO) distrust their top leaders.

As significant as blue-collar discontent and defections is the Social Democrats difficulty in winning over more white collar workers. About a million of them are organized in a separate national confederation of private and public sector unions. More officials of these unions have recently come to support the Social Democratic Party just as the LO always has, but the rank-and-file has not followed the leaders.

The Party's views—summarized in a "100 Day Program" for its now-postponed return to power—were forcefully expressed throughout the campaign by party leader Palme. During the TV debate, he blasted the bourgeois parties for the big trade deficit, foreign borrowing, higher food prices, and unemployment that has developed during the last three years. How much support their new coalition government continues to have will depend largely on their handling of the economy. Not enough voters apparently agree yet that they have mismanaged the economy as badly as the Social Democrats charge.

Meanwhile in the next round of national wage negotiations, which begin soon and extend into 1980, the employers are likely to be emboldened by the election victory they helped to finance. LO officials anticipate tougher bargaining than usual and greater membership resistance to a policy of wage restraint. What labor has lost in the election, it may try—as in Britain—to get back at the bargaining table, with the result being less labor peace than is usual in Sweden.

**Steve Early is a labor journalist and lawyer affiliated with the American Labor Education Center in Washington.**



## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## MUSE

By Pat Cox

"The same people who brought you Vietnam are bringing you nuclear power," said Pam Lippe, a staff member of MUSE (Musicians United for Safe Energy).

An organizer of the May 6th March on Washington and the 200,000-strong September 23rd Rally at Manhattan's Battery Park City Landfill, Pam sees herself involved full-time in MUSE in several ways for at least three more years. There are plans for future concerts, follow-through on the production of an album and film made during the MUSE week of concerts, and the administration of MUSE grants to local grass-roots anti-nuclear groups.

"I started organizing against nuclear power about five years ago up in western Massachusetts with Sam Lovejoy and Harvey Wasserman [both members of the MUSE Foundation Board]. The whole movement started in the countryside years ago, with people suing and legally trying to stop nuclear power. In February, 1974 Sam knocked over that tower on his property in Montague, Massachusetts, that first act of direct action. It made me start to question everything."

As Pam sees it, such direct actions have led to a change in general public opinion.

"If you look at the tactics of the Clamshell Alliance—the first major direct action organization—and the Seabrook occupations, which began in 1976—direct action has characterized the movement for the last few years. Right after Sam's action, alliances sprang up all over the country. And, since then, there have been direct actions all over the country: in Rocky Flats, California, Tennessee, South Carolina, New England.

"What you've found growing between Three Mile Island, *The China Syndrome* and May 6 is an extremely broad movement. I remember as recently as 1975 people saying 'Huh?' when you mentioned nuclear power or clearly saying, 'We need nuclear power.' When it's mentioned today, the immediate response is mainly negative."

The history of MUSE, Pam pointed out, is based in the career histories of particular reformers. People like Bonnie Raitt, John Hall, Jackson Browne, Graham Nash and Jesse Colin Young have been doing concerts like the Madison Square Garden series for years at the grass-roots level.

"You can see that music is a very important way to draw people in," said Pam. "First people have to be made aware that something is a problem, and then they have to learn about it. These concerts have made a great many people aware of the problem. Then they'll take it wherever they're going to take it."

"Some may never think about nuclear power again, and others will pay attention when it's mentioned in a newspaper or on TV—because Jackson is a favorite of theirs and he's concerned about it."

"It's exciting to think how much easier it's going to be to insure that this money will be spent



Bob Gumpert/Stan Sierakowski

## Money and fame flow to anti-nuke cause

effectively and strategically. Board A of MUSE is composed of musicians, production people and a couple of people from the movement. It raises the money. Board B is larger—16 people—and was put together to be sexually, racially and regionally balanced, and as representative as possible of the anti-nuclear movement.

"Board B gives the money away. Board B has a binding contract with Board A that any money that it raises must be given to the foundation. The members of the foundation—from Tom Hayden to Valerie Pope (an ex-welfare mother who works on a solar construction project in southern California) to Jose Barreiro of the Black Hills Alliance and an editor of *Akwesasne Notes*—have a first-hand knowledge and understanding of what this movement means."

The MUSE foundation has three targets for its money. One is national anti-nuke groups. Another is local grass-roots organizing around the issue. The third is media coverage, including media projects by national and local groups. MUSE people are also talking about developing their own media wing, both to generate press material and to train people to get access to newspaper, radio and TV.

"People in MUSE like Jackson Browne, who has a young son," said Pam, "and John Hall, whose wife has a new-born baby, are concerned about our children."

"And for me, the thing about nuclear power that's so critical is the genetic aspect of it. If

we're insane enough to kill ourselves, or to poison ourselves, or whatever, at least that's our problem...but once you start affecting future generations and deny my children or my children's children a decent life, that's something else."

"I think of this movement as an expression of a life-force. People see how the corporations in this country have colluded to develop a technology that is anti-people in every single way—from health to safety to economics."

"Nuclear power is about the ways in which this society works. People ask me, 'What are you going to do after this?' I can't do anything else. This is a question of survival. If we don't get our act together, we can destroy the species."

Jackson Browne, backstage at the MUSE Garden concerts, and in *Rolling Stone* shared this attitude. "This generation has the responsibility of deciding something for all time, and I can't really think of a time in the past when that's been the case. The lives of future generations are in our hands. Jesus, it sounds pretty hokey, but it's true. I think it's been said a lot of times when it wasn't true, but it really is true this time."

### Atomic threat.

Joy Ryder, with the Avis Davis Band, the only New Wave performers at the Sunday Rally, have been performing the song, "No More Nukes," in small punk clubs and gatherings around the country for a year and a half.

The song and the tight, raun-

chy sound of the Avis Davis Band were one of several shots-in-the-arm at the rally. Joy said she has long admired the continued involvement of people like Jackson and Bonnie Raitt, but has been "preoccupied with the nuclear issue in my own head since Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I've always lived with the threat that my life could end in an atomic war."

"No More Nukes" brought her in touch with numerous people involved in the movement—people who would hear it sung at concerts, leaflet her, and ask her to perform it at anti-nuclear benefits.

"That's how I acquired a lot of my information, from people who would talk to us about the issue after our set," said Joy. "I've also gained a lot from the media—several important British films on television, radio broadcasts, and newspaper reports."

"I don't think it's necessary to write 'moon, June, spoon' songs. For me, songs have to be socially relevant. Nuclear power transcends everything—including war. It affects the entire world."

Writers and friends who had heard Joy's song encouraged the rally organizers to put her on the bill with Pete Seeger, Tom Paxton, and Crosby, Stills and Nash and others.

"Unfortunately, the New Music has been given a 'neo-Nazi, neo-chic' image in the press. But it's a broad genre, and like any other grouping, there are varieties of viewpoints within it. I'm against willful destruction, and I want to work against it through my songs."

The nuclear threat is spurring other popular artforms as well, and the MUSE concerts provided a forum to display them. For instance, Jocko Marcellino, the drummer in Sha-Na-Na and singer/songwriter John Amato are both members of the Fourth Wall Repertory Co. Band. The Fourth Wall is apparently the only New York-based theater company solely committed to anti-nuclear issues. At the rally they performed four of a large repertoire of strong anti-nuclear songs that are part of a twice-a-week program called *Music Live*, original pop and rock songs directed at specific issues in the nuclear power crisis. The rest of their week was devoted to performances of *Ride A Red Horse*, a violent anti-nuclear drama written and directed by Joan Harvey.

Will the MUSE concerts be a financial success? The financial statement is still forthcoming, and it depends on the success of the album and film as well. Even at its most optimistic estimates, MUSE can't hope to raise the kind of money the utilities put behind pro-nuclear advertising, of course. The Edison Electric Institute, for example, just decided to "shadow" Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden on the road with close to a million dollars of pro-nuclear advertising. And that's in addition to their regular annual \$4 million ad budget.

Whatever happens to money raised by the MUSE concerts, it will, unlike many other benefits, be open knowledge, because it's a benefit series by the musicians themselves. MUSE was organized by musicians who were tired of putting their consciences in the services of promoters who disappeared with a benefit's benefits, and also tired of half-measures like one-time performances and small concerts.

Aside from the money, there are immediate benefits. MUSE staff and performers were both buoyed by the publicity the concerts and rally generated for the no-nuke issue. Concert organizers marveled at the comradeship cultivated among performers working for a common cause, and revelled in the good spirits communicated to activists everywhere. Head counts alone suggested broad popular support among young people for the anti-nuke position.

The MUSE concerts are over—for the moment. The planning goes on. A good three years' worth of work lies ahead for the MUSE foundation, just in deciding who, what, where and how much for the anti-nuke monies raised by MUSE activities.

The projects go on too. Other MUSE concerts—some with different styles of music—are being talked about. So are TV shows and telethons. The MUSE performers have set in motion a process that shows no signs of stopping.

Nor do the musicians seem to want to quit. Graham Nash shares Pam Lippe's sentiments about anti-nuke organizing. As he said recently to an interviewer, "This is not just something I can get on the back of and ride for a year as it suits me, and then leave. This thing is a life-long commitment."



By Lenny Rubinstein

A huge-fanged and claw-hand-ed creature reaches for the heroine. Her mouth opens in a silent scream. Soon the resolute hero who comes to her rescue will discover that the monster is fatally allergic to the beam from his flashlight.

Sound familiar? It was the staple plot of the low budget and low-production value features churned out by the American International Pictures (AIP), the independent studio whose 25th anniversary was honored recently with a series of screenings at New York's Museum of Modern Art.

MOMA finds in AIP's history the origins of what is now called the New Hollywood—the new energy brought to commercial filmmaking by men like F.P. Coppola, Martin Scorsese, Brian De Palma and others (see "How the New Hollywood Took Shape," *NYT*, Aug. 15). It has chosen films featuring early performances by Jack Nicholson, Peter Fonda and Bruce Dern. MOMA also sees in AIP's history a mini retrospective of American pop culture.

Founded by Samuel Z. Arkoff and James H. Nicholson (no, not the actor), AIP was not interested in art, social meaning or filmic innovation—just lines at the box-office. The quality of many of the films could be gauged from the wall full of posters advertising *The She Demon from the Year 5000*, *The Beast that Couldn't Die* and *The Thing with Two Heads*. Scaly monsters and bosomy women were standard features in the posters that were Hollywood's answer to the pulp of the pulp sci-fi magazines.

AIP's box office receipts were evidence of the large studios' inability to come to terms with television and the sheer unwieldiness of their holdings. Anti-trust legislation forced Paramount Pictures and the other industry giants to divest themselves of their satellite theater chains in the mid-1950s, while Hollywood executives raised on the idea of big quality family pictures did not seriously consider the millions of war babies as a separate audience.

Over 25 million people were born in the United States soon after the war years, and by the time they were eight or ten years old AIP was ready for them with nearly ten films a year produced expressly for the small and medium-sized movie houses across the country that couldn't wait for, nor afford, that year's Academy Award nominees.

## POPULAR FILMS



## Cultural history in the dark

Samuel Arkoff once replied to a *New York Times* reporter's question about the quality of his films with the cynically honest remark that they shouldn't talk about good or bad pictures, but rather about good or bad *merchandising*. There was little doubt that Arkoff and Nicholson knew a lot about merchandising and their openly targeted audience.

By the early '60s the childish audiences waiting to see the scale-covered demon had grown into teenagers with allowance money and drivers' licenses to enable them to see AIP's 1963 feature, *Beach Party*. Filmed with rented equipment on a public beach, it cost under \$200,000 to make and has grossed approximately ten times its expenses in profit alone since then.

It was in the production of horror films that AIP displayed a certain grace and ease. Based loosely on the stories of Edgar Allan Poe and using the talents of Vincent Price, the period horror films helped spawn their self-styled parodies, often with the same sets and performers. The 1963 *Comedy of Terrors*, a hilarious spoof of the traditional gothic film helped pave the



Arkoff and Nicholson (inset) played first to kid audiences with horror films and later to teens, with romances (top).

way for sexy vampires and borscht-belt Franksteins.

## Youth and protest.

The lampooned horror film was not the only field into which AIP made successful ventures. As early as February 1966, an AIP executive said, "The next big area for teen-age films is protest." Vietnam and civil rights were not on that executive's mind, but the much more flamboyant and marketable displays of protest: the Hell's Angels, psychedelic drugs and hippies. The bikini-clad starlets of the early '60s gave way to the leather-jacketed and jack-booted starlets of the motorcycle gang. With painfully thin plot or story lines, the films were a pastiche of fist-fights and costuming and occasional set design. Biker films often featured more Nazi regalia than an old war film.

*Wild Angels*, directed by Roger Corman, starred Peter Fonda and Bruce Dern, and also enlisted members of the Venice office of the Hell's Angels as extras. That meant instant commercial success, along with the film's touches of mordant humor, hedonism and amorality. The tone of the film was conveyed by a dying Bruce Dern's last words to his assembled mourners, "I wanna' get high!"

Topping off AIP's investment in its youthful audience was the 1968 release, *Psyche-Out*, which starred Susan Strasberg as an innocent Alice drawn to the wonderland of Haight-Ashbury with Jack Nicholson as a likeable, but even so slightly-cynical rock musician. The success with these films helped pave the way for *Easy Rider* and a score of less successful off-

experiment with his taste for the macabre. He co-authored with Louise Rose and directed *Sisters*, an evocative and original treatment of the schizoid murderer theme. Embellished with the appropriate gothic elements, *Sisters* contained an innovative film-within-a-film sequence that was a lot more sophisticated and lent itself to more plot complications than many of De Palma's later, more expensive films.

## Simplistic thrills.

Subtlety and a motion picture screen are not easily reconciled, so the most flagrantly simplistic notions gain strength from being made into a feature-film. The Haight-Ashbury hippies, for instance, were a hedonist group surviving along the edge of a grossly materialist society, and for many the pleasures of that life was far more important than any implied or explicit social criticism. That was the salient part for Sam Arkoff and AIP, and to judge by his success it was the most interesting view for large numbers of people.

Of course, AIP is still in business and is still not concerned with art, truth or even great entertainment. The near-burlesques of the horror film are still popular but Samuel Arkoff and James Nicholson can now call on celebrated performers Ralph Richardson, Burt Lancaster, Michael York and Rod Steiger. Their cameramen are now more often than not members of the British or American societies of cinematographers, and the sets and make-up are much more elaborate. Yet somehow the AIP films are still second rate.

The Museum of Modern Art may discuss the "vigor of the studio that not only seeded the New Hollywood...whose films energetically reflect American popular culture of the past quarter century," but Samuel Arkoff still smiles and discounts any pretensions to art or sociology.

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## CULTURE SHOCK

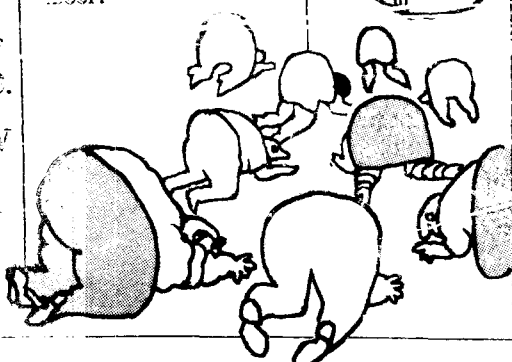
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## SPORTS IN FILM



## Good plays but no score

By Eliot Asinof

It was a superb idea for a movie. The hero, Phil Elliott, is a wide receiver on a Texas pro football team "with the best hands in the league," but he's sitting on the bench because Management doesn't like his independent attitude. "Immature," they call it. In fact, anything that fails to put the Team above all else (including permanently sacrificing your body) is deemed immature.

Phil wants to play. He loves the game, loves the high of making great game-winning

catches. He would rather face Sundays in autumn than anything else in the world. He wants it so much, he even agrees to submerge his rebellious spirit so that the coach will think him mature and therefore worthy.

The theme deals with an important aspect of professional (and college) football. More, it says something to all of us who are trapped in the corporate structure. You must conform. You must play the game. You must be precisely what Management wants you to be.

The trouble with *North Dallas Forty* is that, in making the film, its filmmakers chose

to do all those compromising things they didn't want their hero to do. They made a picture that conformed to the sleaziest corporate demands of the box office. They played the insipid game of kinky-sex-titillations and aberrated weirdness and inflated violence that reduced its content to the needs of the lowest popular levels of taste.

They were ripping off their own hero.

It's a shame, because there is genuinely appetizing meat to this story. It began with Pete Gent, author of the novel (and co-author of the screenplay), a fine football player for the

## North Dallas Forty is two films—one serious, the other *Animal House* on the Gridiron.

Dallas Cowboys and, like Phil Elliott, a wide-receiver with superb hands. He was also a wit, a rebel, an independent spirit. (Once, the story goes, on a plane returning to Dallas after a game, Coach Tom Landry approached Pete with the news "I'm gonna move you to the other side next Sunday,"—obviously meaning a shift from left to right—but Pete, the irrepressible one, quipped: "What, I'm gonna play for the Giants?") He even had his own TV talk show where he would appear irreverently on camera in a stove-pipe hat. Pete Gent was definitely not in the image of professional football as the Cowboy organization viewed it. It followed that his hands were not good enough to survive its resentment.

### Motley crowd of apes.

In his novel, Gent's Elliott is funny and wild and eloquently undisciplined where Nick Nolte's, who plays the part, is not, however much he tries (and claims) to be. *North Dallas Forty* is a film with two identities—one serious, the other *Animal House* on the Gridiron.

We get a motley crowd of neanderthal apes with childlike reactions to authority much like unruly kids in a sixth grade classroom. In one scene, they are turned loose at a large poolside party where their idiocies run rampant to the verge of rape and outright murder. In a locker room scene just before the key game, a chaplain delivers a preposterous prayer while the players, palpitating for action, trample him like stampeding cattle as they rush for the exit.

All stops are repeatedly pulled. Nolte, struggling to convince the coaches that he is the docile conformist they want, seems as though he wandered onto the wrong movie set.

In fact, director Ted Kotcheff, usually highly talented, has almost all the secondary characters dancing through the film like figures in a cartoon. Even such experienced actors as Steve Forrest (clubowner) and Charles Durning (assistant coach) become less than real. Mac Davis, meanwhile, a singer turned actor (quarterback), is caught somewhere in the middle, presumably in the glue that holds the farce and drama together. It simply cannot be done. The legitimate struggle of any hero cannot achieve a proper dignity if his ambience is insulted with gimmickry.

Nonetheless the picture is not without its satisfactions. There is enough sturdiness to the yarn, enough color to the characters to entertain us. Typically, the promotion of the film is devoted to such tripe as "Wait till you see the weird part!" There are no great insights to be gained, just a couple of hours of innocent fun.

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## THEATER

# Still *Waiting for Lefty* after all these years

By Dorothy Samsachson

On January 5, 1935, *Waiting for Lefty*, a one-act play by Clifford Odets, a hitherto unknown playwright, was presented in New York by members of the Group Theatre. Set in a taxi-drivers' union meeting, *Lefty* had an explosive impact on its audience, and became a legendary 'agit-prop' classic of the American Theatre.

The story was a simple one. While the union members await the arrival of Lefty, their inexplicably absent rank-and-file leader, they rise to tell why they must strike. Each individual's story is presented in the form of a vividly dramatized flashback. The former chemist who became a cab driver because he wouldn't work on poison gas; the doctor fired because he's both Jewish and more competent than the chief's son; the driver who can't feed his children, the active unionist who discloses that the labor spy is his own brother. There is also a corrupt union official and his strong-arm goon. The climax arrives when the men learn that Lefty has been murdered, and the vote to strike is taken in an atmosphere of bitter, defiant rage.

At that first performance, and at every successive performance, the entire audience was so caught up in Odets' fervent message that it rose as one, shouting along with the actors, "Strike! Strike!" in his book *The Fervent Years* Harold Clurman describes the play as a "call to join the good fight for a greater measure of life in a world free of economic fear, falsehood, and craven servitude to stupidity and greed."

On September 13, 1979, *Waiting for Lefty* was revived in Chicago's Apollo Theatre by a talented young ensemble, Steppenwolf Theatre Company. At play's end, the audience also rose—not to shout "Strike!" but in tribute to the cast's gallant performance and to Sheldon Patinkin's sensitive, intelligent direction.



*At a forty year distance, it's easier to see that Odet's message was more sentimental than it was political.*

The Chicago production was faithful to the original, although Patinkin shifted the locale to Chicago, and preceded the play with group singing, presumably to get the audience into a 1930s mood. The only obtrusive tinkering was in the way the flashbacks were introduced—this time as staged entertainments for the membership, in which the corrupt official also took part. That I couldn't accept. Would this man who opposed the strike take part in a vignette that tugged at one's heartstrings?

## Of its time.

As one who saw the first production, I realized that the present audience belonged to a generation that had no historic knowledge or understanding of the era in which *Lefty* was created—the Depression. In that desperate decade from 1929 to 1939, unemployment and poverty seemed endemic to the American way of life. Out of a total population of 122 million, more than 15 million were un-

employed. Hundreds of thousands of farmers were forced off their farms by foreclosures. In 1933 Hitler seized power in Germany, and fascists and the KKK were openly active in the U.S.

The '30s were a time of bitter labor struggles, of the emergence of the CIO, and of the 1932 Ford massacre. In Chicago, 40 percent of the work force was unemployed, and similar conditions prevailed across the country. It was a time of widespread social unrest, during which many turned their attention favorably to what was going on in the Soviet Union. That in turn created paranoid fear of a communist revolution, and a concomitant repression.

Only when we understand the historic background against which Odets wrote *Lefty* can we understand why we responded as vehemently as we did to the play. He was saying everything we wanted to hear.

Unfortunately, few members of the working class ever heard what he was saying. Even at reduced prices, going to the theatre wasn't a common practice. Workers might be disillusioned with capitalism, but when they could scrape up the money, the whole family went to the movies where, for 10 or 15 cents each, they got a double feature and free dishes, which were more practical than propaganda.

This inability to attract working class audiences affected all left-wing and progressive theatre groups. Plays like *The Black Pit*, about coal miners, or *Stevedore*, about jobs for blacks, were effective dramatic pieces and deserved a larger public. My own favorite was Irwin Shaw's *Bury the Dead*, a powerful anti-war play about a group of World War I casualties who refuse to stay buried. The play is, however, no longer available, for Shaw banned its production by anti-war groups, thus clearing his own trousers of any sympathy for the left.

But many of the left-wing plays were pretty heavy going—sectarian in outlook, and



The Steppenwolf Theatre Company's performance (above and left) recalled weaknesses in the original.

so full of preachiness that the human beings within the characters were too often lost sight of. This is a weakness that *Lefty* shares.

Seeing *Lefty* again, one now realizes that its message was a sentimental, romantic one. Odets touched all left-wing bases, almost dizzyingly. Even his cabdrivers weren't real workers, but symbols that gave him the excuse to argue against war weapons, for the glorious Russian revolution, and for international working class unity. "Hello America! Hello. We're stormbirds of the working-class. Workers of the World...Our Bones and Blood! And when we die they'll know what we did to make a new world!..."

What we young students had heard as a sweep of poetry now sounds like pretentious, silly, meaningless claptrap. It's not even clear Marxist thinking. What's more, the workers didn't reject war work. It was war production that finally lifted the United States out of depression. Today workers in nuclear plants fight the anti-nuclear movement.

## Successful theater.

If art is a weapon, as we're frequently reminded, then it's time to think of how to create an effective weapon. It grows increasingly difficult.

The only period in American life when theatre played a meaningful role in our society was during the three and a half years of the Federal Theatre Project (FTP). This was probably the most glorious period in American theatre.

In 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the FTP as part of the Federal Works Project. About 10,000 unemployed actors, playwrights, designers, technicians, musicians and dancers worked on the project nationally. Over 30 million people saw live theatre, many for the first time in their lives. Performances never cost more than a dollar, and many were completely free, or only 10 to 25 cents. Yet it wasn't a charitable endeavor, for even at those prices, the FTP took in over 2

million dollars. The FTP presented theatre in all its variety, from the classics to the newest, most experimental works.

Some of the plays made strong social statements, commenting on various aspects of American life. The Living Newspapers dramatized general topical issues, such as agriculture, inadequate housing, and energy.

The FTP reached a much broader public than *Lefty* ever could, and had a much greater effect, until the Project was killed by Congress, after the House Un-American Committee had done its preparatory hatchet job. The excuse was that "practically every play presented under the auspices of the Project is sheer propaganda for Communism or the New Deal."

Ironically, Clifford Odets, whose *Lefty* was so much more radical than any play FTP ever presented, and whose successes with *Lefty* and *Awake and Sing* brought him a lucrative Hollywood contract, ended up a friendly witness for that committee, abjectly renouncing his former radicalism and also denouncing many of his former friends.

## SICK DAY FOR THE BOSS

Debbie claims to be a doughnut and dances in circles. Anita hears bells, looks for Santa Claus in the vault. Betty talks to herself about jello. Joyce states, "But I gotta have gum with sugar in it," and blows a big bubble. Isabel talks to Kowalabearski, the stuffed animal on her desk. Karen hears crickets everywhere and hides in the bathroom for hours. Sandi starts a petition to get a man's voice on the computer. I smoke a pin joint in the men's room during lunch. All day long we smile at each other when eyes meet at the empty chair in the middle of the room.

—Jim Daniels

## Guindon



"Theo hated disco long before he caught on with the young people in this country."



# The Avenging Angel

## (Approximately)



By Louis Menashe

Let's make believe we haven't heard all the talk. That Bob Dylan (né Zimmerman) now wears a crucifix around his neck. That he attends fundamentalist Bible classes. That at last god is on His side. Now let's listen to the record...

Why it's pure and vintage Dylan, bringing it all back home, musically very lean and low-down, alternating blues and country modes. And the old Dylan righteousness and anger is still there, only in different costume.

Dylan has entered the gallery of flip-



flopping '60s notables in a transition that is bound to be greeted with derision and boredom. If Eldridge Cleaver embraced Sweet Jesus and Rennie Davis followed the Perfect Master, then the conversion of Bob Dylan, the moody poet of many masks, of many and confused meanings, should come as no surprise.

The religious dimension of Dylan's work has always been one of its more powerful components. Take the titles of

some Dylan songs, including some of the best ones, over the years: "Chimes of Freedom," "Gates of Eden," "I Shall Be Released," "Knockin' on Heaven's Door," "The Wicked Messenger," "Day of the Locusts," "This Wheel's On Fire," and "Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall." If you didn't know they were Dylan songs you might say the titles came out of a Baptist hymnal.

In his home-movie extravaganza *Renaldo and Clara*, Dylan—arrogantly, teasingly, or blasphemously, depending on your understanding of the man—walks along rows of statuary representing the Stations of the Cross with Allen Ginsburg translating the Latin inscriptions. In the tender "Shelter from the Storm" Dylan sings of his crown of thorns and how they gambled for his clothes.

For many Dylan admirers the religious imagery has always provided the key to his art. One of his particularly overwrought followers, Stephen Pickering, has written of Dylan as the "Jewish Poet in Search of God." Far from scotching this kind of speculation, *Slow Train Coming* can only confirm it. Dylan has of course added his own simple twist of fate—the Jewish mystic's search for God led him to Jesus, a gesture with ample precedence in the Graeco-Roman-Jewish world where it all began.

### Chameleon.

Well, this is one line of reasoning, belonging to the realm of Higher Dylanological Criticism. A more satisfying line, I think, travels along a lower road. Dylan is a chameleon-like genius of the American musical language. Restlessly, and with an

uncanny talent for sounding comfortable and authentic in different grooves, he has given us an astonishingly rich and broad range of words and music.

Sometimes he falls flat on his face. Was he kidding or did he really think he could croon like Bing Crosby in "Blue Moon" from the *Self Portrait* album? In the 1977 tour following the release of *Street Legal* he updated "Ballad of a Thin Man" by strutting around the stage with a hand-mike like some Sammy Davis Jr. at Caesar's Palace.

But the successes have been overwhelming—ballads with the folk flavor of the Southern Mountains and Western plains, country-western love ditties, urban blues, protest songs, rock, and the genre he helped introduce, folk-rock. Now in *Slow Train Coming* he quotes directly from another fertile vein of American music, born in churches and at revival meetings, black and white.

Save for the final cut, however, the songs are not straight gospel stuff. "When He Returns," the last song, is the closest to that category in content and piano accompaniment. (Oddly enough, this is also where Dylan sounds most like his early self in vocal attack.) The others have enough lyrical invention and ambiguity to provoke, perplex and delight. They are set with delicate guitar, bass, keyboard and percussion ornamentation. Occasionally there is a gritty brass ostinato ("Gonna Change My Way of Thinking") and the vocal punctuation of the "Dylanettes" ("Serve Somebody") they echo in the lead-off number. "Precious Angel," the most sparkling number in the album, comes across either as epiphany or lusty love tribute. "I Believe in You" is either adoration or grateful love song. Both could have fit very nicely with the torch songs of "Desire," "Planet Waves" or



"Blood on the Tracks."

Many other signatures in the album put it into the Dylan mainstream. The snarling anger of "Idiot Wind" here converts his precious angel into an avenging angel—"Men will beg God to kill them/And they won't be able to die" threatens Dylan.

Other familiar themes include the weary, forsaken outcast on his defiant lonesome road; the lonely confused man who can't make it on his own without love and loyalty; the man who doesn't want to change the world ("Don't wanna judge nobody/Don't wanna be judged" from "Do Right to Me Baby"); the victimized outlaw who here "died a criminal's death" recalls George

Jackson, Hurricane Carter and Joey Gallo whom Dylan had honored in earlier songs.

### Hard sell.

What sets *Slow Train Coming* apart from the past is Dylan's undiluted ideological message. He wears it like an accusatory badge as many new converts



do. Some of his early appeal came from the existential posture, his detachment from causes, movements, and isms. Once he advised us not to follow leaders; now he tells us we have to Serve Somebody. As befits a man nearing 40, who has undergone personal traumas in recent years, who was part of the apocalyptic '60s and shuffled through the uncertain '70s, Dylan has returned to basics, extolling love, loyalty and devotion in a corrupt world with "gangsters in power and lawbreakers making the rules." In a way it is his most political record ever. As for Dylan's recommendation that we should "Believe in the power/That's about all you have to do"—that is a matter best left between Him and Him.

All of this is not likely to win over that vast middle American market captured by Pat Boone and Elvis Presley. Dylan's muse is too idiosyncratic for that despite the new-found Christian patent. Can you imagine Dylan rasping out "Silent Night" on some future Columbia Christmas album? And what of Dylan's traditional constituency? For many this is the last straw, the final cynicism.

But who knows? Maybe Dylan, forever on the move, will someday turn to new texts. Here is one from the man he suggests has many of us "by the throat": "Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sign of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation." ■

